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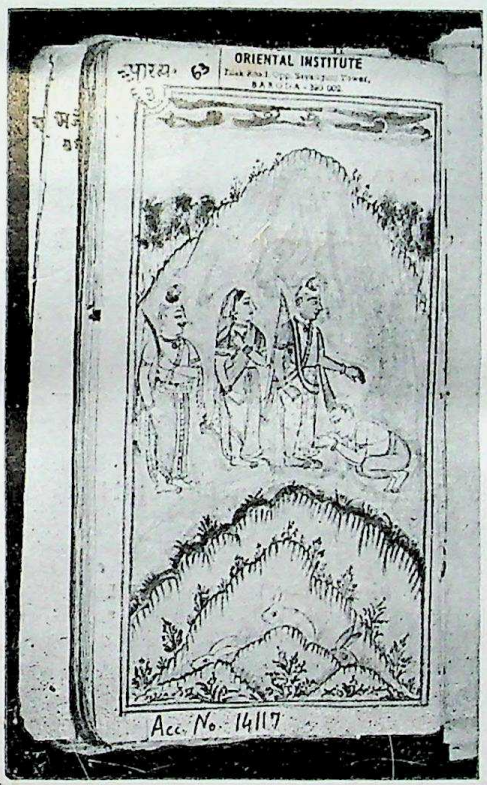
ISSN 0030-5324

journal of the oriental institute

M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, VADODARA



Acc. No. 14117
Rāmacaritra by Giradhara
(Ayodhyākāṇḍa–Araṇyakāṇḍa)

Edited by
RAJENDRA I. NANAVATI
DIRECTOR,
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA
सत्यं शिवं सुन्दरम्

Oriental Institute
VADODARA

Vol. XLV] September–December 1995 [Nos. 1–2

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Journal
of the
Oriental Institute
M. S. University of Baroda

Vol. XLV, Nos. 1 - 2
Sept.-Dec., 1995

ELEMENT OF CONTRAST IN THE ṚG-VEDIC POETRY

By
S. G. Moghe*

It is noticed that the element of contrast is fruitfully utilised by the classical poets like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bhavabhūti and Jagannātha in their poetic compositions to heighten the effect of poetry.

It is further observed that the element of contrast found in the *Mahābhārata* has served as a hint to Bhāravi to compose the stanzas in the mouth of Draupadī in the first canto of the *Kirātārjunīyam*.[1]

In the light of this background, an attempt is made in the present paper to collect a good number of examples illustrating the principle of contrast in the Ṛg-Vedic poetry. It may be remembered here that Prof. H. D. Velankar has pointed out some places of contrast in the course of his notes on the hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda*. But the learned Professor has not devoted a special section for this purpose to point out the various varieties of contrast we notice in the Ṛg-Vedic poetry. Hence an attempt is made here to show the varieties of contrast with good illustrations, making the best use of the material available in the notes on the Ṛg-Vedic poetry at the hands of scholars.

In the first variety, we find that there is a marked contrast in the actions of the two persons-deities and other persons to be more specific. Agni is described as 'undeceived[2] deceiver' at *Ṛg-Veda* V.19.3. Even the Ādityas are described

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 45, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 1995 Issue, pp. 1-8.

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1 किरातार्जुनीयम् I. 34–36 and 38 to 40.

2 अदब्धः दभः—RV. V. 19.3.

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in the same fashion[3] at II.27.3. Here in these two illustrations what the poets mean to say is that these deities deceive other persons particularly enemies, but the converse is not true. i.e. The enemies or other persons can not deceive the deity. One may refer to another case of Indra at II.16.1, where he is described as making[4] others aged, without at the same time, becoming himself aged. At other place, Indra is also described by the Vedic poets as 'unconquered[5] conqueror.'

In the second variety of contrast, we find that one and the same person possesses contrasting qualities. This point could be illustrated by drawing attention to the cases of Uṣas and Indra. Uṣas is described[6] by the Vedic poets as '*Purāṇī Yuvatiḥ*', i.e. ancient (but) young. Generally it is noticed that one that is old or ancient can not be said to be young. Uṣas thus, possesses the contrasting characteristic. Prof. Velankar described this as a 'favourite contrast'. Indra's love for Soma is a favourite topic of the Vedic poets. He is described by the Vedic poets as a seasonal drinker at III. 47.3 and X. 99.10. Here the expression that is actually used is '*Ṛtupā*'.[7] But in the other places of the *Ṛg-Veda*, for example III. 53.8, III. 48.4 and VIII. 4.4, Indra is described as unseasonal[8] drinker. Here the Vedic poets have used the expression '*anṛtupā*'.

We get another interesting variety of contrast, when we read the request of the Vedic poets to the deity known as Ādityas. Thus, at II 29.2, the Ādityas are requested to forgive and take pity (upon the worshippers), though they are known as mighty conquerers. Here it is generally experienced that the persons who are great conquerers, are rarely found to forgive and take pity upon others, as hinted at by Prof. Velankar. Hence in the request to the deity, we find this interesting variety[9] of contrast.

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3 अदब्धासः दिप्सन्तः—RV. II. 27.3.

4 इन्द्रमजुर्यं जरयन्तं—RV. II. 16.1; Also see अजरं युवानम् । RV. III. 32.7b.

5 अषाळहं सहमानम् ।—RV. VI. 18.1; Also अषाळहाय सहमानाय—RV. II. 21.2b and VII. 46 1c. This very idea is expressed as in b न हि त्वा शत्रुः स्तरते स्तृणोषि यं विश्वं शत्रुं यम । RV. I. 129.4. That is why he is described as 'अजातशत्रुः अस्तृतः ।' VIII. 93.1c.

6 पुराणी युवतिः । RV. III. 61.1c.

7 उत ऋतुभिः ऋतुपाः पाहि सोम । RV. III. 47.3.

8 स्वर्मन्त्रैः अनृतुपा ऋतावा ।—RV. III. 53.8. As an unseasonal drinker, he snatches it from others to satisfy his thirst.

9 The contrast between the two actions conveyed by the roots—क्षद् and क्षम्— H. D. Velankar – *Ṛgveda-Maṇḍala* II. p. 78. (pub. by University of Bombay—1996).

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One more variety of contrast is seen when one noticed the different behaviour[10] of one and the same deity towards the two persons particularly on the ground or concept of friendship. At *Rg-Veda* X. 42.4, it is said that he who brings offerings makes him (Indra) his comrade just here; the brave god does not wish any friendship with the non-presser of the Soma stalks. From this it is evident, that friendship with Indra is possible on the part of a devotee only by the offerings and not by non-offering of the Soma drink to him. Here the contrasting behaviour of Indra is mentioned in clear cut wordings by the Vedic poet of the tenth *Maṇḍala*.

Sometimes, however, we get the element of contrast by implication. For the clarification of this point, attention may be drawn to the *Ṛg-Veda*. X.22.5cd. Here this stanza[11] simply means that you have approached those straight-moving horses of Vāta for carrying yourself,—those horses whose controller neither god nor mortal can be found to exist. Here cd shows that how Vāta's horses are uncontrollable to any one, but Indra controls even these horses and employs them for greater speed. Here if the context is borne in mind that the stanza is addressed to Indra, then only by implication it follows that Indra alone can control the uncontrollable horses of Vāta. Here Prof. Velankar points out that the word *cit* in the *Ṛk*. is suggestive of contrast by implication.

Even the use of significant adjectives on the part of the Vedic poets without the use of the substantives, is seen to convey the element of contrast. In the *Ṛg-Veda*, VII.28.3, the poet Vasiṣṭha describes that the active one killed the sluggish one. Here the expressions[12] used are *tūtuji* and *atūtuji*. In this context, if one simply consults the other places, one would immediately realise that the adjective '*tūtuji*' refers to Indra and the adjective '*atūtuji*' refers to the Vṛtra. It is thus clear that the Vedic poets have made the best use of the adjectives to convey the element of contrast between the two personalities

The Vedic poets have utilised the element of contrast due to place to heighten the effect of the poetry. To explain the truth of this remark, one can refer to the *Ṛg-Veda* V.73.1. Here there is a request[13] to the Aśvinā, to the effect that whether they are in a distant place or in a near one, whether in many

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10 अत्रा युजं कृणुते यो हविष्मान् न असुन्वता सख्यं वष्टि शूरः ॥ RV. X. 42.4.

11 तं त्या चित् वातस्य अश्वा आ अगाः ऋज्रात्मना वहध्यै ।
ययोर्देवो न मर्त्यो यन्ता नकिः विदाय्यः ॥ RV. X. 22.5. Another illustration of implied contrast is RV. X 42.3 The poet says here 'किमङ्ग त्वा मजवन् भोजमाहुः शिशीहि मां शिशयं त्वा शृणोमि ।' इन्द्र is called as भोज—a liberal donor of VI. 23.9. If, however, he does not give liberally, he will cease to be भोज.

12 अतूतुजिं चित् तूतुजिरशिश्वत् । RV. VII. 28.3. इन्द्र is called at तूतुजि at X. 22.3 and X. 44.16.

13 यदद्य स्थः परावति यदर्वावति अश्विना ।—RV. V. 73.1.

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places or in the mid-region to come to us), O feeders of many. Here the expressions used are *parāvati* and *arvāvati* to indicate the distantness of a place and the nearness of place. It is significant to note here that these two expressions occur elsewhere in the *Ṛg-Veda* at VIII.13.15, VIII.33.10, VIII.53.3, VIII.93.6, VIII.97.4 and IX.65.22 only to show the element of contrast based on place. The Vedic poets also use the expressions '*kṣaye* or *gṛhe*' with reference to Indra and even other deities. In this very context, it is worthy to note the attitude[14] of the Vedic poets towards the goddess Uṣas. At *Ṛg-Veda* X.55.4, it is said that she is nearer to men, though actually far away.

We get a good illustration and a variety of contrast in the name of a person and his physical strength. The *Ṛg-Veda* II.14.5 is a case[15] in point. Here we have the description that Indra easily killed the weak Śuṣṇa. Here Prof. Velankar significantly adds that though Śuṣṇam signifies powerful lungs, yet he actually possessed weak lungs. We may say that Indra killed powerful Śuṣṇa weak in lungs. Elsewhere in the *Ṛg-Veda* for example, I.54.5, we have the description that this very Śuṣṇa was panting for breath.

A contrast[16] between a devotee and a deity is another interesting variety of the element of contrast. For the elucidation of this point, one may refer to the *Ṛg-Veda* VIII.21.4. Here this ṚK. simply means that devoid of relatives, we the priests have brought you here who are possessed of many relatives. Here naturally the contrast is intended between the priests who are *abandhavaḥ* i.e. devoid of relatives and Indra who is endowed with many relatives.

Sometimes, however, we get an altogether different variety of contrast, only if we take into consideration the vocabulary of the Vedic poets. These words that are quoted below are occurring at different places. Let us take the example of the contrast in the variety of poets. The Vedic poets use the expression '*Dīrghaśruta viprāḥ* at VII.61.2 in the sense of a 'far-famed poet. While at VII.32.9, we have the word '*kavatnu*' in the sense of a bad versifier. Still at another place VII.21.8, we have the word '*kīriḥ*' in the sense of a poor singer. While the poets use the expression '*coda*' i.e. a poet whose hymns inspire a deity at I.174.6, and VI.37.1. If, however, the Vedic concept of contrast is borne in mind by a careful reader, then the contrast suggested by the use of such expressions[17] becomes crystal clear to any reader.

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14 यत्ते जामित्वमवरं परस्या महन्महत्या असुरत्वमेकम् ।—RV. X. 55.4.

15 यः शुष्णमशुषं यो व्यंसम् ।—RV. II. 14.5. Also see H. D. Velankar—*Ṛgveda*—II. P. 42.

16 वयं हि त्वा बन्धुमन्तं अबन्धवः विप्रासः इन्द्र येमिम ।—RV. VIII. 21.4.

17 Also read किरिः—a wailing poet-at I 31.13.

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Another variety of contrast depends upon the sense of the word that we take in a particular context. For the illustration of this type, attention may be drawn to the *Ṛg-Veda* V. 7.2cd. This line[18] means ' whom (Agni) even worthy (gods) enkindle and whom ordinarily creatures happily produce.' Here the question arises as to how you are going to take the expression ' *arhantaḥ* ' in the *Ṛg-Veda*. In this respect, the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya is of no use. Prof. Velankar in his unpublished notes on this portion remarks that the expression *cit* shows that *arhantaḥ* are contrasted with *jantavaḥ*. He further adds that *arhantaḥ* refers to gods. In support of this interpretation, Prof. Velankar draws our attention to the two places V. 52.5 and V. 86.5 in which the expression ' *arhantaḥ* ' refers to the gods. He further adds that usually this root and the participle are employed with reference to the gods. From this discussion, it is quite clear that for the variety of constrast of a different type, even the meaning of a word one prefers has a part to play in the Vedic interpretation.

We also get a good illustration of the contrast of situation. Here the poor condition of a singer and the affluent condition of a patron is hinted at by the Vedic poets. For the clarification of the idea in this point, attention may be drawn to *Ṛg-Veda* VIII. 2.14 and VIII. 1.20. Here in the latter portion[19] a poet says ' who will not beg before a person in power? In the former[20] portion, however, the poet suggests that a patron never pays any attention to the hymns sung by a singer who happens to be a pauper. He thereby means to say that the poet of a patron should also be equally rich. Then and then only some level between the two can be maintained. Otherwise a pauper singer is sure to be neglected by a rich patron. In this way, the Vedic poets have dealt with the contrast of a situation.

The time factor has also contributed to the element of contrast in the Ṛg-Vedic poetry. Here the prayers of Bhāradvājas and Viśvāmitras may be referred to in the present context. Thus, at VI. 25.9, Bharadvājas prayer[21] to Indra is that ' May we the Bharadvājas obtain (riches) singing praises to you under your protection both at the break of the dawn and even now '. Here the expressions used are *Vastoḥ*—at the break of the dawn and *nūnam*—now. Even the same prayer more or less is repeated in the *Ṛg-Veda* X. 89.17cd, echoing the request of Viśvāmitras. But at I. 79.6b, however, the expressions—*kṣapāḥ* and *vastoḥ* are contrasted as noted by Prof. Velankar.

The famous Vṛṣākapi hymn of the *Ṛg-Veda* X. 86 also gives us another variety of contrast. Here we note the contrasting behaviour of Indra and

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18 अर्हन्तः चित यमिन्धते संजनयन्ति जन्तवः ।—RV. V. 7.2cd.

19 क ईशानं न याचिषत् ।—RV. VIII. 1.20.

20 उक्थं च न शस्यमानमगोः अरिः आ चिकेत । न गायत्रं गीयमानम् ॥—RV. VIII. 2.14.

21 विद्याम वस्तोरवसा गृणन्तो भरद्वाजा उत ते इन्द्र नूनम् ।—RV. VI. 25.9cd.

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Indrāṇī towards Vṛṣākapi, a lascivious monkey. Here we see the contrast in the attitude of two persons towards one. Indrāṇī shows her dislike for Vṛṣākapi in the *Ṛks* 2, 5 and 9, when she seriously complains against Vṛṣākapi for his lusty movements, for spoiling her well-prepared and decorated furniture and treating Indrāṇī as without a brave defender. She possibly dislikes Vṛṣākapi for the simple reason that he belongs to Dāsas as noted by Prof. Velankar. But Indra seems to be fond of this monkey as is evident from the *Ṛks* 15 and 19 stating the grounds that though belonging to Dāsa community, he is a loyal and devoted simple minded Soma presser. We get one more example of contrast in the attitude of Indra towards the Dāsa and the Āryan communities. He certainly prefers a loyal, poor but simple minded soma presser devotee like Vṛṣākapi to a rich Āryan who offers Soma to Indra in the sacrifices. Here it seems that Indra has attached more importance to the loyalty and simplicity and devotion of a devotee.

The famous Mudgala-Mudgalānī hymn of the *Ṛg-Veda* X. 102 is another case of a contrast according to Dr T. G. Mainkar. Here we are not primarily concerned with the theory-War theory, race theory, or pastoral theory—of the hymn. As regards the contrast in the treatment given to a bull, and *drughaṇa* in the *Ṛg-Veda* X. 102.9, Dr. Mainkar points[22] out that the bull is taken to the resting place and looked after in a manner befitting the victor, the animal that brought victory to Mudgala. In contrast to this, *Drughaṇa*, he points out that he is found lying in the middle of the battlefield. That is totally neglected treatment is given to the *Drughaṇa*, after the work is over. It may be noted here that as regards the nature of *Drughaṇa*, there is a difference of opinion among the scholars, which is passed over here for want of space.

The Vedic poets have employed the technique of contrast[23] even to the case of the horses of Indra. This becomes particularly evident from the way in which the horses give treatment to the persons. It is said that these horses of Indra are favourable to the Soma-sacrificer and unfavourable to the non-sacrificer. Here it may be noted in passing that whatever is the attitude of a deity like Indra is here simply transferred to his horses by the Vedic poets. This element of transfer is also more prominent in the *Ṛg-Veda*, for which a separate treatment will be given.

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22 Mainkar T. G. *The upbṛṁhaṇa and the Ṛgveda Interpretation*—P. 35. (pub. by L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9—1975)

23 ये त्वा वहन्ति सुहुरध्वरान उप ते सु वन्वन्तु वग्मनान् अराधसः।—RV. X. 32.2. वग्मनान् अराधसः are the niggardly पणि cf:—X 60.6. Mark the contrast between सु गन्ता and सु वन्वन्तु which suggests the different attitude of इन्द्र's horses towards the worshippers and the पणि.

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I would like to close this topic with the last variety of contrast which is purely based on hypothesis. This is purely based on the matter which is already presented by Prof. H. D. Velankar in his '*Path of devotion in the Ṛg-Veda*' pp. 17-18. Here the learned Prof. Velankar draws attention to the *Ṛg-Veda* VIII. 14-1-2, VIII. 19.25-27, VIII. 32. 18-19, and VIII. 44.23. In the last passage,[24] the *Ṛks.* are address to Agni. Here the poet says to Agni that had I been in your place and had you been in my place, I would have certainly fulfilled all your desires. In the *Ṛg-Veda*,[25] VIII. 14.2, the poet says to Indra, that had I been as rich as you are, I would have become very eager to give whatever my devotee asks for or desires for. In these illustrations, the language is hypothetical. The contrast between the poor condition of a devotee and the rich condition of a deity is stressed. Hence I am almost tempted to describe this variety of contrast as a hypothetical contrast.

In conclusion, it would be fair to conclude that the Vedic poets have fruitfully employed the technique of the element of contrast variously in the *Ṛg-Veda*— by seeing the contrast in the actions of two persons, contrasting attributes in one and the same personality, different behaviour of one and the same person or a deity towards the other two persons, use of significant adjectives without the use of substantives, contrast due to place and time, a contrast in the name of a person and his physical ability, a contrast between a deity and a devotee, contrast due to the vocabulary of words used by the poets, contrast of situation contrast in the attitude of two persons towards one, transferred element of contrast to the case of horses of Indra, and lastly the hypothetical contrast and implied contrast.

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24 यदग्ने स्यामहं त्वं त्वं वा धा स्या अहम् ।
स्युष्टे सत्या इहाशिषः ॥ RV. VIII. 44.23.

25 शिक्षेयमस्मै दित्सेयं शचीपते मनीषिणे ।
यदहं गोपतिः स्याम् ॥ RV. VIII. 14.2.

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JOURNAL
OF THE
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, BARODA

Editor : M. L. Wadekar

The JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, BARODA is a Quarterly, published in the months of September, December, March and June every year.

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DIFFERENCES IN ARRANGEMENT OF FIRE PLACES, VEDI AND MAṆḌAPA FOR DARŚAPŪRṆAMĀSA SACRIFICES ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT ŚRAUTASŪTRAS

By

R. P. KULKARNI*

Introduction :

Detailed information regarding the procedure of conducting different types of sacrifices is given in Śrautasūtras. Layout of fire places, *Vedi*s, *maṇḍapa*s and related matters are dealt with in Śrautasūtras of *Yajurveda* recension. *Yajurveda Śrautasūtra*s by Baudhāyana, Mānava, Āpastamba, Satyāṣāḍha, Vaikhānasa, Vādhūla, Kāṭhaka and of Kātyāyana are known. Differences in arrangement of fire places, *Vedi* etc. for Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifices only are dealt here, that too according to Baudhāyana, Mānava, Āpastamba, Kātyāyana and Vaikhānasa *Śrautasūtra*s, as other Śrautasūtras are more or less similar to one of these. Arrangement for fire places, *Vedi* etc. according to *Vaikhānasa Śrautasūtra* are dealt with separately as it is much different than that described by other Śrautasūtras.

Locations of Five Fire Places :

According to Baudhāyana Ś. S. distance between centres of Āhavanīya and Gārhapatya fire places shall be 8, 11 and 12 *prakramas* if the sacrificer is brāhmin, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya respectively.[1] Explicit instructions regarding distance between these fire places are not given in Mānava Ś S. But from the comments of Rudradāsa on the method given to locate Dakṣiṇāgni, it seems that the western side of Āhavanīya fire place is in contact with the eastern side of *Vedi* and the eastern side of Gārhapatya fire place is in contact with the western side of *Vedi*. According to Āpastamba Ś.S this distance could be as stated by Baudhāyana but in addition it may be 24 or 25 *prakramas* or as much as it is pleasing to eyes but not so much as to be inconvenient.[2] Kātyāyana Ś S. follows Baudhāyana Ś S. in this respect but with an addition that this distance between Āhavanīya and Gārhapatya fire places may be anything as desired.[3] (*Matyā Vā*). It may be noted that the meaning of the word *purastād* is in front of i.e. towards the west of Āhavanīya fire place and not towards its east.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 45, Nos. 1-2, September December, 1995 Issue, pp. 9-16.

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Location of Dakṣiṇāgni is almost similar according to all these Śrautaśūtras. It, however, seems that traditionally, Śukla Yajurvedins locate the centres of Dakṣiṇāgni and Gārhapatya fire places in one line which is perpendicular to the line joining centres of Āhavanīya and Gārhapatya fire places, i.e. to the central east-west line.

Sabhya and Āvasathya Fire Places :

According to Baudhāyana Ś.S.[4] these fire places are similar to Āhavanīya fire place in shape and dimensions, that is, square in shape and length of sides is 24 aṅg. These fire places are located on the east-west centre line and towards the east of Āhavanīya fire place. Sabhya fire place is towards the east of Āhavanīya and Āvasathya towards the east of Sabhya.[5] Mānava Ś.S. does not give any instructions regarding the locations of these two fire places. As given in *Karavindīyā Vyākhyā*[6] of Āpastamba Ś.S. locations of Sabhya and Āvasathya fire places and their shape are same as given by Baudhāyana. Kātyāyana Ś.S. does not give any explicit instructions regarding shape and locations of these two fire places. Vidyādhara Śarmā comments[7] that the shape of these fire places is circular like Gārhapatya fire place and of the same dimensions, that is 27 aṅg. in diameter. He further states that towards the north of Gārhapatya fire place, some distance away from it, is the location of Sabhya fire place and towards the north of Āhavanīya fire place is the location of Āvasathya fire place. The centres of Sabhya and Āvasathya fire places are in one line which is parallel to the east-west centre line.

Dārśiki Vedi :

Baudhāyana Ś.S.[8] informs that the east-west length of *Vedi* shall be equal to the height of the sacrificer with raised hands, or it may be more than that. Width at mid-length of *Vedi* shall be such that all the oblations to be placed within it could be conveniently accommodated. Length of the east side shall be smaller than that of the western side and the width at the middle shall be the smallest. Baudhāyana Ś. S.[9] adds that the width of *Vedi* at the western end shall be two-third of its east-west length and the width of the eastern end shall be onehalf of the length of *Vedi*. All the four sides of *Vedi* shall be curvilinear, the arcs being drawn with radii equal to the lengths of respective sides. The eastern and the western sides may be curvilinear with radii equal to twice the lengths of the respective sides. *Vihārakārikā*[10] (which follows Baudhāyana Ś.S.) states the dimensions of *Vedi* as given below:

The east-west distance	96 or 80 aṅg.
Length of the east-side	48 or 40 aṅg.
Length of the west-side	64 or 53 1/3 aṅg.

The size and shape of *Vedi* according to Mānava Ś.S.[11] and Āpastamba Ś.S.[12] are similar to the one described in Baudhāyana Ś.S.[13] According to Kātyāyana the

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east-west length of *Vedi* is three *aratnis* (7 aṅg.) East side is of the same length. The west side is four *aratnis* (96 aṅg) long The sides of *Vedi* are straight and not curvilinear. Two semicircles called *Saṅgrahas* which are not dug as rest of the *Vedi* is, are located on the south and the north sides of the *Vedi*. V.Ś.[14] elaborates further that a distance of ten aṅg. is left from N-W and S-W corners of *Vedi* (towards east) and semicircles of radius 19 aṅg. are drawn. These are the *saṅgrahas*.

According to Baudhāyana,[15] Mānava,[16] Āpastamba[17] and Kātyāyana[18] Ś.S. *Vedi* is located near but towards the west of Āhavanīya fire place. As per tradition of Śukla Yajurvedins the eastern side of Āhavanīya fire place and the eastern side of *Vedi* are coincident. Āhavanīya fire place is thus accommodated inside *Vedi*.

Mekhalās for Fire Places :

Mekhalās around fire places and/or *Vedi* are not mentioned in any of the Śrautasūtras except Vaikhānasa Ś.S. It appears that the fire places were also dug in the ground like a *Vedi*, or the soil is simply excavated, but not removed, to the dimensions and shape of respective fire places as mentioned in B.Ś.S.[19] According to *Śrauta Padārtha Nirvacanam*[20] all five fire places are provided with two *mekhalās*. Thus instead of digging the ground to form a receptacle for oblations, sides of fire places are raised above the ground level to serve the same purpose. The height and width of inner *mekhalā* are 12 and 4 aṅg respectively. Outside *mehaklā* is six aṅg. in height and six aṅg in width. According to *Vihārakārikā*,[21] the height and width of inside *mekhalā* are 14 and 3 aṅg. and that of outside *mekhalā* are seven and one aṅg. respectively. There may be only one *mekhalā* of dimensions similar to that of inner *mekhalā*.

Mānava Ś.S. does not give any information on *mekhalās*. Tradition is also not known.

Mekhalās provided to the three fire places as observed at the time of Soma sacrifice performed according to Āpastamba Ś.S. and at Paraśurāma Kṣetra near Chiplun in Konkan, were as detailed below.

(1) Āhavanīya fire place—Three *mekhalās* widths of *mekhalās* from inside to outside are 3, 3 and 4 aṅg. Heights of *mekhalās* from inside to outside are $7\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 aṅg.

(2) Gārhapatya fire place—One *mekhalā* 3 aṅg. in width and height.

(3) Dakṣiṇāgni—One *mekhalā* 3 aṅg. in width and height. According to V.Ś.S.[22] the fire places are provided with one *mekhalā* of 12 aṅg. height and four aṅg. in width.

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Mekhalā for Dārśiki Vedi :

ŚPN.[23] states that a *mekhalā* may be constructed around *Vedi*. There are two *mekhalās*. Inner *mekhalā* is six aṅg. high and two aṅg. in width. Outer *mekhalā* is four aṅg. in height and four aṅg. in width. According to *Vihārakārikā*,[24] inner *mekhalā* is six aṅg. high and two aṅg. in width and the outer *mekhalā* is four aṅg. high and two aṅg. broad. In case only one *mekhalā* is to be provided, it shall be four aṅg. in height and three or four aṅg. wide. When a *mekhalā* is provided around a *Vedi* then the ground within need not be dug.

Mānava Ś.S. does not give any information on this aspect of *Vedi* nor do I know the tradition.

A *mekhalā* provided to the *Vedi* at Soma sacrifice mentioned above (according to Āpastambins) was of 3 aṅg. in height and 3 aṅg. in width.

A *mekhalā* is not constructed bordering the *Vedi* as it is not mentioned in Kātyāyana Ś.S. or its commentry by V.Ś.S.

Pavilions :

Baudhāyana Ś S.[25] mentions that a pavilion with two doors, one towards the east and another towards the south is to be constructed. Gārhapatya fire place is to be located at its centre. Baudhāyana Ś.S.[26] gives the dimensions of this pavilion as 16 × 12 or 12 × 10 *prakramas*. Its roof is provided with bamboo beams oriented towards the east. It may have a flat roof or one with one-half roof sloping towards the south and another one-half roof sloping towards the north. It seems that there are separate pandals for Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya and Ānvāhāryapacana fire places. Gārhapatya fire place if located at the centre of *prāgvaṁśa maṇḍapa* then Āhavanīya fire place shall be located at the east wall, in the east door way, if the distance between them is eight *prakramas*. If it is 11 to 12 *prakramas* then Āhavanīya fire place will be located outside the pavilion called *prāgvaṁśa*. Further, in B.Ś.S.[27] it is mentioned that *saṁbhāras* are placed at the Gārhapatya fire place and half of the remaining *saṁbhāras* are taken and after coming out of the south door they are placed at Dakṣiṇāgni. This shows that if one has to go from Gārhapatya fire place to Dakṣiṇāgni one has to pass through the south door provided in *prāgvaṁśa maṇḍapa*. It is to be noted that Dakṣiṇāgni can be comfortably located within this pavilion. It is then stated that half of the *saṁbhāras* are placed at the Āhavanīya fire place after crossing the eastern door. Traditionally, however, all these three fire places are accommodated in one pavilion.

According to Mānava Ś.S.,[28] the pavilion for *agnyādhānam* is having bamboo beams oriented towards the north and its roof is sloping towards the east so this seems to be a flat roof. Mānava Śu.S.[29] mentions a *prāgvaṁśa maṇḍapa* which is square and of length of sides of ten *prakramas*.

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In Āpastamba Ś S.[30] it is mentioned that there are four pavilions for five fire places. Dimension of these pavilions are not given. A pavilion, with bamboo-beams oriented towards the east, shall cover Āhavanīya fire placed, Dakṣiṇāgni and *Vedi*. A separate pavilion for Gārhapatya fire place, with bamboo-beams oriented north, is provided. Gārhapatya fire place is located at the centre of this pavilion. One pavilion each for Sabhya and Āvasathya fire places are also constructed According to Dhūrtaswāmī, Dakṣiṇāgni may be accommodated in the pavilion in which Gārhapatya fire placed is accommodated or in which Āhavanīya fire place is accommodated.[31]

According to Kātyāyana Ś.S.[32] there are two pavilions, one for Āhavanīya fire place, which accommodates Dakṣiṇāgni and Āvasathya fire places and Dārśīki *Vedi* Another pavilion is for Gārhapatya and Sabhya fire places. Pavilion for Āhavanīya fire place shall be *prāgvaṁśa* whereas the one for Gārhapatya fire place shall be *udicīnavaṁśa.*

Arrangement of Fire Places, Vedic etc. According to Vaikhānasa Ś.S. :

Fire Places :

Gārahapatya fire place[33] is constructed by first erecting a circular platform of 36 aṅg. diameter and 8 aṅg. high. Then in this platform a circular pit of 28 aṅg. diameter and 6 *aṅgula* deep is made. A *mekhalā* of 8 aṅg. height and 4 aṅg. width is automatically formed. An outer *mekhalā* of 4 aṅg. height and width around this first *mekhalā* is constructed. For constructing Āhavanīya fire place, a platform square in shape with length of sides of 32 aṅg. with a pit of 24 aṅg. sides and 6 aṅg depth is formed. An outer *mekhalā* similar to that of Gārhapatya fire place is also provided. At the southwest side of *Vedi* Dakṣiṇāgni is constructed with a circular platform of 50 aṅg. diameter and again 8 aṅg. height. The northern half of the platform is removed. A semicircular pit of 42 aṅg. dia. and 6 aṅg. depth is formed. Outer *mekhalā* is provided. Sabhya fire place is located east of Āhavanīya fire place. A square platform of 36 aṅg. sides and 12 aṅg height is constructed. A pit of 28 aṅg. sides and 6 aṅg deep is dug in it. First *mekhalā* is thus 12 aṅg. high and 4 aṅg. wide. A second *mekhalā* of 8 aṅg. height and 5 aṅg. width and a third *mekhalā* of 4 aṅg. height and four aṅg. broad are constructed.

Āvasathya fire place is located east of Sabhya fire place. It is equilateral triangle in shape with base perpendicular to the central east-west line and apex towards the west, the length of sides being 45 aṅg. A triangular pit with sides of 37 aṅg. and depth of 6 aṅg is dug out. A second *mekhalā* is provided. Or Āvasathya fire place is identical to Āhavanīya fire place.

Vedi :

A *Vedi*[34] with eastern side in contact with Āhavanīya and western side in contact with Gārhapatya fire place is constructed. Its width is 16 aṅg. and is

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provided with a single *mekhalā* of 4 aṅg. height and 4 aṅg. broad along its south and north sides. *Vedi* is dug two or four aṅg deep.[35] All the four sides of *Vedi* seem to be curvilinear[36]

Pavilion :

It is a *prāgvaṁśa maṇḍapa*[37] with doors at the east and south sides. All the three fire places and *Vedi* seems to be accommodated in it.

Remarks :

It seems that the fire places were dug below ground level, or may be the ground is only excavated by *sphyā* but the soil thus excavated is not removed. The construction of *mekhalās* around fire places seems to have started just before Vaikhānas Ś.S. Primarily, the *mekhalās* serve three purposes. One is purely decorative. Another is that the ashes collected may not be removed daily. But could be removed conveniently after a fortnight or even a month. The third aspect is that in case these fire places are accommodated inside a pavilion, wind or even breezes may scatter the ashes but this nuisance would be avoided if *mekhalā* are provided around them.

Mekhalā around *Vedi* seems to be decorative only.

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3. *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* 48.-17
4. *Śrautakośa* P. 47
5. *Prakṛtivihāra-Kārikā* S. 23 Manuscript (No. 1375) Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍal, Pune.
6. *Karavindīyā Vyākhyā* on Ā. Śu.S. 4.7-8, P. 68-69
7. *Vṛtti* of Vidyādhara Śarmā P. 285
8. B.Ś.S. 24.24, P. 209, Vol. III.
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10. *Prakṛtivihāra-Kārikā*. Sl. 28-29
11. *Mānava Śrautasūtra* 1.24.1 and *Mānava Śulbasūtra* 10.11.4-6
12. Ā Śu.S. 4.9-10
13. K.Ś.S. 2.6.1
14. *Vṛtti* of V.Ś. on K.Ś.S. 2.6.1
15. See 9 and B.Ś.S. 24.24, P. 209, Vol. III
16. See 11, and M.Ś.S. 1.2.4.19
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18. K.Ś.S. 2.6.1
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25. B.Ś.S. 2.12, P. 54
26. B.Śu.S. 1.88
27. B.Ś.S. 2.61, P. 59
28. M.Ś.S. 1.5.1.13
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30. A.Ś.S. 5 4.1-2 and 5.4.6-8
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33. *Vaikhānasa Śrauta Sūtra*—1.2 and 1.3
34. V.Ś.S. 1.2
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36. V.Ś.S. 4.12
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RĀMAKATHĀ IN THE MEDIAEVAL GUJARĀTĪ LITERATURE

By

DEVDATTA S. JOSHI*

The source of poetry of mediaeval Gujarātī poets has flown from the *Rāmāyaṇa* too, just as it has flown from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata*, the *Harivaṃśa* and the Purāṇas. The literature pertaining to *Rāmakathā* has been created parallel to literature that keeps *Kṛṣṇakathā* in the centre. Out of the available *Rāmakathā* literature created by Gujarātī mediaeval poets who have drunk handfuls from the ocean of *Rasa* of *Rāmakathā*, Some is published and some is preserved in manuscripts. Some manuscripts are in incomplete form or in torn and tattered condition. Very few works are available in which the beginning, middle and end are intact. Manuscripts of some works are not available but on the basis of some available material let us consider some *Rāmāyaṇa* works from the 15th century upto the 19th century. Complete *Rāmāyaṇa*s are given first priority and then the works based on episodes are given next place.

15th Century—In this period we get *Rāmāyaṇa* (Kaḍavāṃ Cantos 1-4) by Bhālaṇa. The poet narrates main incidents in one line each, beginning from the incident of Rāma coming to Ayodhyā after marrying Sītā upto the incident of his coming to Ayodhyā again after killing Rāvaṇa. There is a quality of abridgement in narrating the epic in one line each. There are only *Pada*s known as four *Kaḍavāṃ* in *Copāī* composition. Another complete *Rāmāyaṇa* is of Uddhava. In this poetic composition, although the poet has narrated all incidents of *Vālmīki āmāyaṇa* as they are, his sincere effort is seen to make the work original with his poetic genius. For that it appears that he has found the sources from the *Hanumannāṭaka* and the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* also. Lakṣmaṇa's leg casually touches Jānakī and at that time Rāma is scolding Lakṣmaṇa and Lakṣmaṇa performs penance. This incident is on the basis of *Hanumannāṭaka* while Rāma's plan to create shadow—Sītā before her abduction is described on the basis of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*. The poet himself has confessed to this.

For accomplishing poetic sentiments, the poet has made some changes in the original narration. Six years old Sītā speaks to maid-servant that as you do not daub near bow, I will daub myself. Sītā daubed there, lifting the bow

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Journal of the Oriental Institute Vol. 45, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 1995, Issue, pp. 17-32.

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which can be lifted by three thousand warriors. Upon the order of Rāma, Lakṣmāṇa cuts Śūrpanakhā's nose and ears. Here, in this work Rāma is cutting ears and nose of Śūrpanakhā, coming to eat away Sītā. Injured by Rāma's arrow Vāli is repremanding Rāma --

> "*Kaikeyīnuṃ Bhaluṃ manāvavā re, tuṃ vana vasyo Rāma re;* (p. 226)
> *Janakasutāne pāmava re, teṃ kuḍuṃ kīddauṃ kāma re.*"

(For pleasing Kaikeyī, you have settled in the forest. For getting the daughter of Janaka (Sītā) you have done what is treacherous). From this, the tone is such as if Rāma has accepted forest-dwelling for getting Sītā In the original (*Rāmāyaṇa*) Kaikeyī-incident is after getting Sītā.

During Sītā Svayaṃvara (choice marriage of Sītā) and at the time of wedding of Rāma-Sītā one can experience the atmosphere of customs and manners of Gujarāt. The composition of the work is of *Ākhyāna*. In descriptions, we find continuity of tradition of an epic. Premānanda's foreshadow is seen in descriptions of an individual and incidents. Credit goes to Uddhava to some extent in moulding Premānanda as an *Ākhyānakāra*. Characteristics of Gujarat in this *Rāmāyaṇa* is proof of this. The poet establishes *Rasa* by developing different places of *Rasa* in this work of *Ākhyāna*-style, characters like Rāma-Rāvaṇa also live on the level of human traits only, sometimes such characters slip down to ordinary level. Practical knowledge of the poet is reflected here and there.

Uttarakāṇḍa of Rāmajanakuvara is added with this work. The poet tries to give descriptions but cannot create vigour. In line like—
"*Madyapāna kare Śrī Rāghava, Janakasutāne pāy i*" (P. 730) (Śrī Rāghave is drinking wine and makes Sītā to drink) it is narrated that persons like Rāma were also used to drinking wine. The poet has skipped over some incidents. The Washerman-episode, Rāma's order to Bharata and Śatrughna to leave Sītā in the forest, Lava-Kuśa's war with the army of Rāma are not there in this work. Vālmīki leads Lava-Kuśa to Ayodhyā during Aśvamedha. Lava-Kuśa are singing the *Rāmāyaṇa*. That way they (Rāma and Lava-Kuśa) are introduced mutually. Thereafter comes an incomplete Rāmāyaṇa of Māṇḍaṇa. Pages of the manuscript are torned at places. '*Vālmīkikathī Vistāra*" (narrated by Vālmīki in detail)—this work is also an *Ākhyāna* poem. The work composed in *Copāī*, is completed in 70 cantos

'*Sītāharaṇa*' (composed in Saṃvata year 1526) by Karmaṇa mantrī is known as '*Rāmakathā*' too. These is a probability of these two works to be independent and later on popularised as one work. The content starting right from the description of Ayodhyā and promises bestowed upon Kaikeyī, is upto reception ceremony for all by Rāma coming to Ayodhyā after killing Rāvaṇa. Lucid descriptions, figurative depictions, beauty of orations are remarkable.

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The sequence of some incidents is different from the original *Kathā*. Both of these works appears to have similarity which can be compared with *Kānhaḍade-Prabandha* of contemporary poet Padmanābha. The poetic composition of '*Sītāharaṇa*' is of a simple composition of *Doharā, Copāī, Chappaya, Pavāḍā* and *Geeta*.

Bhālaṇa's '*Rāmabāḷalīlā*' describes episodes upto Sītāsvayamvara (choice marriage of Sītā) in forty *Padas*. It is possible for the work to be bigger than what is available. The poet's deep study of child-nature, colloquial words draw our attention. An attractive aspect of the work is *Vātsalyarasa* (affection for children). The same poet's '*Rāmavivāha*' is based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, poems and dramas on Rāma. There is a wonderful skill in describing linings of feelings of shrewd smile alongwith innocence on the face of the boatman in boatman-episode. The composition is just a '*Līlāvilāsa*' (pleasant-sport) but it shows the characteristics of *Ākhyāna* in which the second half of *Mukhaḍā* becomes first half of *Dhāḷa*. In Sarasvatīvandanā in a line like "*Brahmasutā kahuṃ vinati AAī*" the word 'AAī' gives a scope of discussion about Gujarātī and Marāṭhī to be of the same origin.

Ninth kalā is 'Rāmalīlānāṃ Pada' in '*Harilīlāṣoḍaśakalā*' by Bhīma, we find poet's ability to summarise by describing one episode in one line each.

An incomplete manuscript of '*Hanumantopākhyāna*' by Māṇḍaṇa is available. The work is completed in 30 cantos in line "*Pavanaputracī Kīrati Karai*" proves that usage of Marāṭhī termination of the possessive case was common in the time of Māṇḍaṇa. '*Sītājinā Bāra Māsa*' by Rāmaiyā (18th century) is ascribed to Narasiṃha (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, MS. No. 1078).

16th Century—In this century we get '*Rāmāyaṇa*' by Sūradāsa (composed in Saṃvat year 1616). No incident is described at length in this work of 32 cantos. The description of Laṅkā and warfare are graphic. Nākara's '*Rāmāyaṇa*' (composed in Saṃvat year 1624) is available in parts only in manuscript form. The narration is extended upto 5000 lines. The poet by not remaining faithful only to original *Kathā*, has added contemporary colours; keeping in mind the taste of the masses. By making changes in the original *Kathā*, Nākara has made small track for Premānanda. Hanumāna is narrating the whole *Rāmāyaṇakathā* to Anjanī. Nākara is reminding the same, frequently. This change of background draws our attention first. Nākara shows the fitness of this change by giving the story of Śravaṇa in Bālakāṇḍa. The poet has imagined disputation also between Śravaṇa and his wife. He has omitted some incidents of original Bālakāṇḍa. However, some incidents of Vedavatī are described in Uttarakāṇḍa which are in Bālakāṇḍa. He has made many changes like these. An episode of Aṃgadaviṣṭi is described in more detail than that in the original.

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Bālakāṇḍa and Ayodhyākāṇḍa are integrated as one Kāṇḍa only. Some pages of the beginning and end of Uttarkāṇḍa are torn. 431 pages are mentioned on the manuscript but the manuscript ends on the page No. 416. This Kāṇḍa consists of 16 *Kaḍavāṃs* (cantos). After reading " the 16th *Kaḍavuṃ* is completed " we also find some lines which may be the summary of the whole *Kathā* (Giradhara in his *Rāmāyaṇa* and in modern times Raṅga Avadhūta has given the last chapter as a summary in his ' *Śrī Gurulīlāmṛta* ' a big composition written in mediaeval *Ākhyāna* style). There is a tradition of summary of *Kathā* in the last chapter. One can see clearly the impact of Nākara's *Rāmāyaṇa* on Premānanda's ' *Rāṇāyjna* '. Nākara has been successful in depicting *Karuṇa* and *Vīra* sentiments. *Hāsya*, *Śṛngāra*, *Bhayānaka* are also seen here and there. Stereotype *Upamā*, *Rūpaka* and *Utprekṣā* of mediaeval Gujarātī literature are seen. On the other hand, he uses figure of speech with poetic beauty too. Series of descriptions is a special attraction of this work. In description of an individual, incident or the nature, the poetic genius is not hidden. In variety of metres and characters, Nākara has shown his power of creative ability. Nākara's characters are human characters only. In this work, the reflection of the then society is seen. The usage of idioms and proverbs become noteworthy.

After Nākara comes ' *Rāmāyaṇa* ' or ' *Rāmacaritra* ' (composed in Saṃvat year 1627) by Kahāna, Kahānajī alias Vahājanī. This poet also has not considered Bālakāṇḍa and Ayodhyākāṇḍa as separate. The *Kathā* started from Hanumāna's salutation to Sarasvatī upto Rāma's Aśvamedha composed in *Copāī*. Descriptions are traditional. The poet has made some changes in episodes here and there. Viṣṇudāsa's ' *Rāmāyaṇa* ' (composed in Saṃvat year 1661-62 approximately) is also a work of summarised translation form. He also starts Bālakāṇḍa with the heading of Ayodhyākāṇḍa. The original work consists of 82 *Kaḍavāṃs* (cantos). The last 83rd *Kaḍavuṃ* which is 57th *Kaḍavuṃ* of Rāmajanakuṃvara's Uttarakāṇḍa is attached with this work. Having taken the main support of Vālmīki the poet enjoys freedom to make some changes while giving the summary. Like Nākara, Viṣṇudāsa has also left some episodes to abridge the work however some original episodes are added. Brāhmins do not allow Śabarī to fetch water from the Godāvarī. At that time Rāma turned the water into blood and stipulated that unless Śabarī dipped her feet into Godāvarī the water would not become holy. The story of this promise by Rāma is interpolated here. The language of the work as a whole and the language of this episode differs. Jaṭāyu episode is repeated after describing war between son of Kuṃbhakarṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa which can be attributed to the negligence of the scribe. In Uttarakāṇḍa Rāma receives everybody after coming to Ayodhyā. An episode of fight between son of Kuṃbhakarṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa is described after the episode of the departure of Aṃgada and Vibhīṣaṇa. Rāma is going alongwith Bharata and Hanumāna to help Vibhīṣaṇa, when an exchange of hot words between Rāma and son of

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Kumbhakarna takes place, the divine utters from the heaven that his death is destined by the hands of a woman. Rāma makes Sītā assasinate him by using Brahmāstra. That episode is in manuscript No. 14266 of the Oriental Institute (Vaḍodarā). MS. No. 275 and 276 of Gujarāta Vidyā Sabhā (Ahmedābād) are incomplete and MS. 31 is missing, therefore we cannot say with certainty about the above said episode to be interpolated. There are variations in MS 275 and 276. The language of MS 276 is of modern form. In this work also, there are characteristics of *Ākhyāna* style.

Thereafter, we find the first prose *Rāmāyaṇa* known as Viṣṇudāsa's '*Rāmāyaṇa*'. No information is found about who has translated and in which year ? Scribal date is *Vikrama Saṃvat* 1673. As per Śāstri Vrajalāla, this may have been translated in the time of Nṛsiṃha Mehtā. Śrīdhara's '*Rāvaṇa Mandodarī-Saṃvāda*' (composed in *Saṃvat* year 1565) becomes attractive with usage of idioms and proverbs. The dialogue is in *Copāī*. The characteristics of Vaiṣṇava described in '*Rāmaprabandha*' (composed in *Saṃvat* year 1587) of Mīṭhā gives proof of spread of *Rāmabhakti* in Gujarāt. Kīku Vasahī's '*Aṃgadaviṣṭi*' contains 60 *chapayas*. Kīku is probably the first poet showing the way of expression of *Vīra* sentiment in a dialogue form. Kīku is the first person to try to write a special poem on this episode. He has not stopped at *Aṃgadaviṣṭi* but he has covered the details of Rāma-Rāvaṇa-War too. Nākara's *Lava-Kuśākhyāna's* 17 Cantos are in *Copāī*. *Karuṇa* and *Vīra* are two predominant sentiments in the work, looking beautiful with similies like "*Jīrṇatvacā Vaśihara tyaje Jānakīni tyaju tyam*" (p. 8) (I will abandon Sītā like a serpent throws off slough). There are two manuscripts of this work in the Oriental Institute (Vadodara) No. 816 and 1018. In third manuscript No. 2490 we find '*Lavakuśākhyāna*' in the name of an anonymous poet. There is similarity in text No. 2490 and No. 1080. In the work which is supposed to be of an unknown poet and in the work of Nākara (MS. No. 816) we mark similarity in lines and slight difference in episodes. That work seems to be composed under the influence of Nākara.

In Viṣṇudāsa's '*Lavakuśākhyāna*' (composed in *Saṃvat* year 1624 to 1634 approximately) the story is just like that of Nākara's '*Lavakuśākhyāna.*' An episode of female-monkey described in birth-episode of Lavakuśa found in MS. 2490 of the work of Nākara, is described here too. '*Hanumānacaritra*' (composed in Saṃvat year 1 47) by Śedhajī Kāśīsuta is an Ākhyāna of 18 Cantos describing valours of Hanumāna. '*Rāmacarita*' by Jaso is simple poetic composition preserved in torn manuscript in which *Kathā* is described from Aṃgadaviṣṭi upto spiritual liberation of Rāvaṇa,

17th Century—Works relating to *Rāmakathā* of this century are found mostly in the forms of *Ākhyāna, Pada, Garabī*, translation or epitome. Not a single original entire *Rāmāyaṇa* is found. '*Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra*' (composed in

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Saṃvat year 1674) by Narahari is in *Copāī* metre. The poet has the skill of putting such work poignant with knowledge into Gujarātī easily. Such effort of '*Yogavāsiṣṭha*' is by Rāmabhakta also (scribal date 1787). Śivadāsa's '*Paraśurāmākhyāna*' (composed in *Saṃvat* year 1667) is *Ākhyāna* of 12 Cantos written in *Deśī*. In one or two cantos in the beginning, there comes *Chāpaya*. *Adbhuta* and *Vīra* are two predominant sentiments, when warriors spring out of the body of the divine cow, imagination of the origin of *Sindhī*, *Khorāsāna* etc. is woven there. We find picturesqueness a quality of description and force a quality of speech. '*Rāmarakṣā*' by Laxmīdāsa is an eulogical hymn of Rāma in 36 lines composed in *Bhujangī* metre. In '*Raghunāthajīno Vivāha*' (composed in Saṃvat year 1684) by Govinda, the poet has interwoven the story of killing of Mahiṣāsura by Śakti after bowing down to Śāradā as a Śakti in Sarasvatīvandanā. In 13 *Kaḍavāṃs* (cantos) and 192 *Copāīs* variety of description draws our attention. In the description of Sītā stereotyped similies have been used. The poet's traits as a Gujarātī are seen in the description of the marriage customs and manners. Govind's '*Rāmavanavāsanī Sākhīo*' is a small poem of 13 *Sākhies* in which after every *Sākhī* containing three lines there is a Dhruvapada (fixed line)- "*Rājā Rāmacandrajīne Rājagādī maḷo.*" Rāṇāsuta's '*Maherāvaṇanuṃ Ākhyāna*' (composed in Saṃvat year 1687) describes the content of killing of Maherāvaṇa by Hanumāna in 30 cantos. In '*Sītāsvayamvara*' (composed in *Saṃvat* year 1703) by Harirāma episodes from Sītā's birth upto marriage of Rāma-Sītā and Rāma's returning to Ayodhyā are described in the form of dialogue between Bharadvāja and Vālmīki. Poet's study of human nature is seen in the description of gestures of kings who had come in *Svayamvara* (choice marriage). That description and Sītā's *Dṛṣṭodṛṣṭa* (staring in the face) (this word itself) is of Premānanda-pattern. According to '*Grantha Ane Granthakāra-3*' the composition date of this work is 1880 *Vikrama Saṃvat*, but the poet has said—

"*Saṃvat sattaraseṃha Jāṇo Upara Adhakā traṇa re*"

(*Saṃvat* 1700 plus three) therefore, the date of composition is 1703 only. Vajiyā's '*Raṇajanga*' (composed in the second half of the 17 century [Saṃvat year] approximately) is a heroic poem of 17 cantos. It is possible that Premānanda might have kept this work before his eyes while composing '*Raṇayajna*'. Some descriptions of '*Raṇayajna*' by Premānanda are similar to this. We find the root of the metaphor of sacrifice given to battlefield by Premānanda, is found in this work. Usage of Arabic-Persian words draws attention. The same poet's '*Sītāsaṃdeśa*' describes the matter of message of Sītā to Rāma through Hanumāna in 51 *Padas*. Poem is of Message-poem type. Vajiyā's third work '*Sītāvelī*' (scribal date *Vikram Saṃvat* 1714) is composed taking the content of *Sitasvayaṃvara*. In '*Sītāvelī*' ascribed to Premānanda and in this work, there is so much resemblance that it raises doubt that this work of Vajiyā has been

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considered as Premānanda's '*Sītāvelī*'. The seed of Vajiyā's '*Raṇajanga*' is expanded and blossomed like a tree in Premānanda's '*Raṇayajna*'. The content of this poem of 26 Cantos is of *Rāmāyaṇa*'s Yuddhakāṇḍa but the poet gives war-episodes in brief. Premānanda has expanded the metaphor of sacrifice given to battlefield by Vajiyā. He has made complete metaphor. Here, characters like Rāma-Rāvaṇa are on the human level. Rāvaṇa of '*Raṇayajna*' is quite different than that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The poet has tried to see Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa from a different angle. The poet is indebted to Nākara and Kīku too, for this work. He has made changes in original episodes and has accomplished *Rasa*. At the same time, he has also left some episodes. There is a flower bouquet of variety of *Rasas* like *Vīra, Raudra, Bibhatsa, Bhayānaka Karuṇa, Hāsya* in this work adorned with style of description, eloquence, beauty of speech. '*Lavakuśākhyāna*' is ascribed to Premānanda but is possibly that of Nākara. '*Sītāvel*' ascribed to Premānanda is possible to be a mistake in writing the name on the part of the scribe who has copied Vajiyā's '*Sītāvelī*'. Haridāsa's '*Sītāvirahanī Cāturīo*', containing 10 *Cāturies* (composed in *Saṃvat* year 1722) shows characteristics of *Ākhyāna*. This poet, a disciple of Premānanda gives new colour to a character. When on hearing the abandonment of Sītā, Bharata is shown to have put on garb of an ascetic. Bhavān's work '*Rāmakathā*' (composed in *Saṃvat* year 1736) is available in many manuscripts and on many names. The work is in a dialogue between Parīkṣita and Śukadeva. The content starting from Daśaratha called *Ṛṣis* upto Rāma's returning to Ayodhyā after killing Rāvaṇa is described in *Padas*. Dvārakādāsa has composed '*Sītāvirahanā Bāra Māsa*'. Beautiful metaphors are found in *Doharās* written at the end of *Pada* in this poem of *Bāramāsī* tradition. Kṛṣṇadāsa's '*Śītājīnī Kāṃcalī*' (scribal date 1892) and Vasanjī alias Vasidāsa's '*Harmānajīno Chanda*' are ordinary works. '*Rāmacandranī Pandara tithi*' a *Baramāsī* poem by Tulasī is published in the name of Ātmārāma in '*Kāvyadohana Part-3*' with this heading—'*Rāmacandraji Vanamāṃ Sidhāvyā te Viṣe*' (On Rāmacandrajī's going to forest). This mistake is because of this line in the work "*Ātmārāmanī Vāṇī Madhurī*" (Ātmārāma's sweet diction). '*Śrī Rāmacandrajīnā Mahinā*' by Morāra is also a *Bāramāsī* Poem.

18th Century—In this century epitomized translations of the '*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*' are found among which Rāghavadāsa and his son Haridāsa's '*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*' secures first place. The author of the work is Rāghavadāsa, while its systematic editing is done by Haridāsa The end of the work proves it. On the basis of this work of Rāghavadāsa, his successor Prītama has written '*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*'. In this work giving epitomized '*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*' the colour of mediaeval descriptions is mixed automatically. The poet has added some matter and descriptions which are not in original work. Nāthabhavāna alias Anubhavānanda's '*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*' (composed in

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Saṃvat year 1800) also gives epitome of the original. Depth of the original work does not come in it. Some own original lines are added. Descriptions are traditional. Inviting the drawback of anachronism, a warrior is shown aiming a gun in the time of Rāma. Description of Sītā is of Premānand pattern. *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* by Prītama is also epitomized translation in which plentiful lines are picked up from the work of Rāghavadāsa changing one word. Of course, the language of Prītama is of a more modern form than that of Rāghavadāsa. What Prītam has written—

"*Śokamoha būḍato Rāghavadāsa kara grahe kevala rāma*" (p. 2).

(while drowning in grief and attachment Rāghavadāsa is catching my hand) is not referred to Rāghavadāsa his master but it is clear that his predecessor poet only. In epitomized translation also poet develops some descriptions. Rājārāma's '*Rāmakathā*' is found as *Rāmacandrajīnāṃ Kaḍavāṃ*.' In this work of nine *Pada*s, the content starts from feeling of Kauśalyā towards Rāma going to forest upto his returning to Ayodhyā after killing Rāvaṇa. Poet's skill in giving summary in one line is noteworthy. Jagajīvana's '*Rāmakathā*' interprets *Rāmakathā* in spiritual meaning in 34 lines. '*Rāmāyaṇano Sāra*,' *Rāmacandrajīnī Garabī*' and '*Sītāvelī*' are recorded in the name of Raṇachoḍabhakta. Another poet Raṇachoḍajī on whose name Rāmāyaṇa with heading '*Rāmakathāmāṃthī*' is published in '*Bṛhad Kāvya Dohana* - Part-2. Raṇachoḍadāsa, on whose name '*Rāvaṇamandodarīsaṃvāda*' is published in '*Bṛhad Kāvyadohana* Part-8' with three incomplete Padas. Looking to all these works, the work seems to be one and the same. *Pada*s may be more or less but the work is the same. Therefore, it is proved that Raṇachoḍabhakta, Raṇachoḍajī and Raṇachoḍadāsa all three are one and the same person. The work composed by him may be called *Pada*s based on *Ramakathā* in dialogue form. Vallabha, a *Kathākāra* from Surat has written '*Rāmavivāha*' in which an atmosphere of marriage celebration of Gujarat is experienced. We get two names Vallabha and Ambaīdāsa as a writer of '*Laṁkānā Śalokā*' (composed in Saṃvat year 1770). Therefore, impression is created that both are two different persons. We can say that as the work is one and therefore poet is also one. The work is possibly to be of Vallabha of Surat who has composed the *Bhāgavata*. This conjecture is corroborated by the last line of the MS. No. 135 of '*Subhadrōharaṇa*' in Fārbasa Gujarātī Sabhā, Bombay "*Śrī Ambājīno Dāsa nirmal Vipravalabha nidhāna*" (A pious brahmin Valabha who is a servant of Ambājī). The influence of Vajīo, Premānanda and Kīku is seen in the work. Raghurāma has composed '*Lavakuśākhyāna*' (composed in Saṃvat year 1772) in 14 Cantos in the form of a dialogue between Jaimini and Parīkṣita. The influence of Nākara's '*Lavakuśākhyāna*' is seen here and there. Śambhurāma's '*Lavakuśākhyāna*' of 30 Cantos (composed in Saṃvat year 1795) shows clear influence of Nākara even in descriptions. Some lines are also similar

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in both the works. Raghurāma's work has also influenced this work. Female monkey-episode about the birth of Lavakuśa is interwoven on the basis of folk Rāmāyaṇa (*Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*). Śāmaḷa's '*Aṅgadaviṣṭi*' (composed in Saṃvat year 1808) can be considered to be the best expression of that episode till now. There is a novelty in the content and style. Śāmaḷa seems to be following the poetry-style of Hindi-Vraja. We can mark poet's practical knowledge, the then beliefs etc. in this work, creating picture of the episode figuratively. Intellectual arguments in dialogue between Rāvaṇa and Aṅgada, forceful language, Aṅgada's acidic allegation and his bright charactrization are places of attraction. This episode is described in works of Uddhava, Māṅḍaṇa, Kīku, Viṣṇudāsa but it does not seem that Śāmaḷa has found the source from any of these. This work is full of Vīra sentiment while in '*Rāvaṇa-mandodarī Saṃvāda*' of the same poet. *Hāsya* sentiment is predominant. The poet has poured out his observation and experience in describing the psychology of 18 castes. In dialogue between two characters, there are *chappās* of poet full of precept. The shadow of '*Rāvaṇa-mandodarīsaṃvāda*' by Śrīdhara and imitation of '*Prabodhabatrīsi*' by Māṅḍaṇa can be seen in proverbs used in this work. Divāḷībāī composes four works '*Rāmajanmanī Garabīo*,' '*Rāmabāḷalīlā*,' '*Rāmavivāha*,' '*Rāmarājyābhiṣeka-samenāṃ Dhoḷa*' (composed in Saṃvat year 1817 approximately). Description of woman's nature and reflection of the then society are specialities of these works. Purībāī's '*Sītāmangala*' is of six cantos in which the poetess's traits as a Gujarati creates attraction. Kṛṣṇābāī's '*Sītājīnī Kaṃcaḷī*' is noted in the name of anonymous poet also in which it is shown by dialogues, how obstinacy of a woman brings unfavourable result. Kalidāsa composed '*Sītāne sāsare vaḷāvavā-viṣe*' or '*Sītāsvayaṃvara*' (composed in Saṃvat year 1832) in which the content is of after *Svayaṃvara*. The picture of the then Society's situation is found in it. In Prabhurāma's '*Rāmavivāhanā Śaḷokā*' (composed in Saṃvat year 1834) female elephant is seen pouring out water from the pitcher. That can be considered as the result of the influence of folktales. Tulasīdāsa describes the marriage of Rāma-Sītā in '*Sītājino Sohelo*,' in which dowry is mentioned. "*Paṭhaṇano nahi pāra re*" (there is no limit of dowry). '*Rāmajīno Vivāha*' or '*Jānakīvivāha*' (composed in Saṃvat year 1857) is found in the name of Tulasīdāsa in which customs and manners of Gujarāt, Garabies are interwoven. In the same manuscript (Gujarāta Vidyā Sabhā No. 2612), there is '*Rāmavanavāsanī Garabīo*.' The work which is noted as '*Rāmacandranī tithi*' and '*Rāmacandranī Pandar tithi*' in Fārbas Gujarātī Sabhā, MS. No. 302 and '*Rāmavanavāsanī Garabīo*' all three are one work. In Govindarām's '*Rāvaṇa ane Vibhīṣaṇa*' or *Rāvaṇa ane Vibhīṣaṇanā Candrāvaḷā*' in every stanza of four lines the first half of the first line is second half of the fourth line, the second half of the second line is the first half of the third line. Rāmaiyā's '*Sītājīnā Bāra māsa*' or '*Jānakījīnā Mahinā*' is a *Bāramāsī* poem. Thobhaṇa's '*Rāmakathānāṃ Pada*' contains eight *Padas* in

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Garabi style of singing, in which *Hanumāna Garabi* ' written by him is included. Prītama's '*Rāmarājiyā*' is a *Pada* of precept. In Viṣṇujī's '*Kakko Rāmakathāno*,' episodes of *Rāmakathā* are described linking them with the alphabet. It is a matter of wonder that in '*Rāmacandrano hiṇḍolo*' by Raṇachoḍa, Kṛṣṇalīlā is sung.

19th Century '*Rāmāyaṇa*' by Giradhara written in this century (composed in Saṃvat year 1893) is the most popular Rāmāyaṇa. This is the representatative Rāmāyaṇa of Gujarātī which is spread over 299 *Adhyāyas*, 9551 *Copāis*.

The poet has found his sources from "*Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*" '*Hanumānnāṭaka*', ' the *Padmapurāṇa*', ' the *Agnipurāṇa*', ' the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*', ' the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata*', ' the *Harivaṃśa*', '*Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*', etc. Sources from '*Rāmacaritamānasa*', '*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*', '*Gītāvalī*', ' the *Mahābhārata*' etc. are also found here and there. Moreover, impact of Girdhara's preceding poets Nākara, Śrīdhara, Premānanda, Śāmaḷa, Kṛṣṇabāī, Dayārāma is also found on episodes and style. The poet has made some changes in the original content. Some episodes he has left, on the other hand some episodes of his own imagination he has added. However, the chain of the story is not broken and that is the speciality of the poet.

Rāvaṇakathā which comes in Uttarakāṇḍa, is in the beginning from chapter 3 here. This may be the purpose to prepare the background for the audience about the incarnation of Rāma against Rāvaṇa and it may be the impact of Tulasīdāsa on Giradhara. The birth-story of Hanumāna, which comes in Uttarakāṇḍa is also included here in chapter 13. The episode, not found in the original, is Rāma's pilgrimage of all the pilgrim centres. Pāṇḍava's pilgrimage in Vanaparva of the *Mahābhārata* and pilgrimage of Rāma with Sītā are remembered. Rejecting, the current story of Ahalyā ceasing to be a stone with the touch of the feet of Rāma, poet adds a new story that the dust of Rāma's feet flew in the wind which touched the stone and turned it into Ahalyā etc. The description of the meeting of eyes of Rāma and Sītā shows clear impact of Mānasa and Gītāvalī. Sītā, while garlanding Rāma at the time of marriage, remembers the story of Śalyā turning into Ahalya, and hesitates with the doubt that lest "*Jaḍyā Paḍika Viśāḷa*" (big stones set) on her ten fingers may turn into a woman and a nuisance of co-wife may take place. This episode is the product of original imagination. The scheme of shadow—Sītā before her kidnaping is of Rāma in *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, while here it is declared by Gods.

This scheme by Gods is mentioned in '*Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa*'. It may be possible that Giradhara might have known this story from *Marāṭhī Rāmāyaṇa*. It seems that the most popular episode of the feeling of celibacy of Lakṣmaṇa in recognising Sītā's ornaments has remained out of sight. Sampāti shows the way

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to reach Laṅkā that branches of sandalwood trees on Malaya mountain are extended upto Yojana and have reached upto Laṅkā but many serpents have entwined over them and they throw poisonous flames of fire. Therefore, you go by crossing the sea. The root of this episode is not traced anywhere. Sugrīva asks Rāma, who is crowning Vibhīṣaṇa, that you have bestowed Laṅkā to Vibhīṣaṇa without thinking, but if Rāvaṇa comes with Sītā surrendering himself, what would you give him? Rāma says that he would bestow him his own Avodhyā. That episode is also original. Just to extend Sundarakāṇḍa, some of the episodes of Yuddhakāṇḍa are included in Sundarakāṇḍa. The description of Rāvaṇa coming for warfare in Uddhakāṇḍa shows clear impact of Premānanda's '*Raṇayajna*'. Kumbhakarṇa scolds Rāvaṇa and advises him to assume the form of Rāma. The reason of the failure of that effort given by Rāvaṇa is original. Sītā may at once recognise him because of his lacking in truthfulness to his own word, one arrow and a vow of monogamy. Indrajit's head is laughing after he is killed. Giradhara has by oversight stated the source of this episode to be in Agnipurāṇa. This episode is in '*Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*'. In Uttarakāṇḍa, Hanumāna splits his chest and shows glimpses of Rāma-Sītā in it. The root of this episode is in Bengālī *Kṛttivāsa Rāmāyaṇa*. Lamentation of Sītā, abandoned in the forest, is on the basis of lamentation of Damayanti by Premānanda.

On the occasion of Aśvamedha, it was written on the plate tied on the forehead of the horse that "*Strī Vipra sādhujana sāthe yuddha karīśa na vīra*" (O brave! do not fight with woman, Brahmin and ascetic). On this, brother in law of Rāma Laxminidhi mocks that all these have come in your family tradition as you have killed Tāḍikā etc. Rāma replies that you being son of Janakavidehī, cannot understand in *Vīra* sentiment. This whole light episode is original. The description of *Avabhṛtha Snāna* of Rāma shows the impact of *Kṛṣṇakathā*

The poet has made many such changes which are in line with different Purāṇas, the Vedas, the scriptures (*Nānāpurāṇa nigamāgamasammatam yad*). He has added many original episodes. In this work *Karuṇa*, *Śānta*, *Veera* and *Śṛngāra rasa* are predominant. It is mainly in *Śānta* and *Karuṇa* that the genius of the poet is seen. Figures of speech used by the poet are of conventional mediaeval tradition but on account of poet's study of the richness of *Alaṁkāras*, that grandeur of *Alaṁkāras* has come in the work naturally. In the description of an individual, the poet takes the help of *Alaṁkāras* mostly to clear the impression on his mind. Most of the descriptions of an individual are of gentle nature. The poet has imbibed the tradition of mediaeval description. Descriptions of nature are mostly conventional. Descriptions of the cities are full of details. As episodes are picked up from many places, outlines of characters are changed a bit. Characters, not being only mythological, seem to assume contemporary

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forms. We find the reflection of the then Gujarātī society, especially in rituals and manners. In diction, we find an impact of Sanskrit and Hindi. Giradhara's *Rāmāyaṇa* is an extensive *Ākhyāna*.

In Kṛṣṇarāma's '*Saṃkṣipta Rāmāyaṇa*' one episode is described in each line. In Dhīrā's 'Aśvamedha' as the episode of Lavakuśa-war is narrated as *Upākhyāna*, there is hardly scope for many descriptions. The usage of metre *Pāghadī* (ch. 33) is noteworthy. Jīnedāsa, Jivaṇa and Raghunandana compose '*Rāvaṇanī Lāvaṇī*' (composed in Saṃvat year 1862) '*Rāmacaritanā Mahinā*' and '*Rāmastuti*' respectively. Hīmo, Bāpu Gaekwāḍa, Narabherāma, Āśārāma, Vallabadāsa, Prītamadāsa Vyāsa etc. compose '*Rāmarājiyā*. In '*Hanumāna-Garuḍa saṃvāda*' of Dayārāma, there is ingenuity in dialogue. The poet proves unity of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Choṭam's '*Jānakīvivāha*' is endowed with descriptions lavishly made.

In addition to this, there are some works available which are of indefinite period. No information is available about the life and the works of these poets. Among these, there is a *Rāmāyaṇa* by Limbajī and his son Jogeśvara. It seems that in '*Madhyakālano Sāhityapravāha*' which Śrī Hiralāla Pārekha has referred to be the third subsequent *Rāmāyaṇa* by Yogeśvara after the *Rāmāyaṇa*s of Uddhava and Viṣṇudāsa, would be only this *Rāmāyaṇa*. The beginning and end of the work are incomplete. Pages of the available manuscript (Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, No. 453) are torn. The episode of Trikūṭa brahmin to show the charitable nature of Rāma while going to forest is original in this work which is beautiful with interesting original descriptions. The poet has made changes here and there in the original episodes. A sage suggests to the boatman (who is refusing Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa for crossing) to carry Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa on the shoulders. The poet thus makes a proper change in the popular story of washing feet. '*Rāmāyaṇā*' by anonymous poet gives description of episodes of Yuddhakāṇḍa. In manuscript (Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā No. 942) lines of Premānanda's '*Raṇayajna*' are being read. The work is as good as an incomplete copy of the works of different poets. '*Rāmakathā*' of anonymous poet (Prācya Vidyā Mandir, Vadodara, MS. No. 4589) is in prose. Episodes right from Vālmīki's penance upto Hanumān's returning after the burning of Laṅka are described. Specialities of the work are exaggerated stories and uncustomary episodes. In a *Rāmakathā* of South India, there is an episode of Rāvaṇa feeding stones besmeared with the blood of his thigh to Jaṭāyu which is interwoven in this work. (This episode is described in Viṣṇudāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa*) when a squirrel gives information of Sītā's whereabouts to Rāma, Rāma makes it golden. Fearing that lest Kaḷajuga kill the squirrel, Rāma makes marks on it's back. While searching Sītā, Rāma is asking animals for information. Thi story is current among Sāntāla, Birhora, Muṇḍā tribes. Another prose *Rāmāyaṇa* (Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, No. 547) of

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anonymous writer is available. There is an imagination of the origin of Portuguese in it. Information is available of '*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*' by Prāgajī-Prāgo-Prāgadāsa published in 'Sāhityā' year 15- 0 but on that place, '*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*' by Prītama is published. Niether Prāgā's *Rāmāyaṇann* or its manuscript is available. Three manuscripts of *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra* by an anonymous writer are available viz. Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, No. 458, 565, 589. The summarised translation of which is difficult to comprehend '*Raghupatililā*' by an anonymous poet is in prose but in the beginning it is in poetic form. From the episode of Rāma and Laxmaṇa's arrival at Janaka's house, it is in prose form. Again the work goes on further in poetic form composed in Kāḍavāṃ. Ādityarāma's '*Sītānī śodhanāṃ Pada*' describes in brief the search for Sītā in four *Padas*. '*Rāmaviraha*' by Jadurāma is incomplete poetry of four *Kaḍavāṃs* (cantos)—one woman is describing the mental condition without Rāma before another woman. These are all *Garabies* only with the heading '*Kaḍavuṃ*' Jekṛṣṇdāsa in his ' '*Rāmāyaṇanā candrāvaḷā*' describes episodes of Rāma's forest-dwelling in thirty five *candrāvaḷas*. Kalāṇuṃkavi's '*Rāmacandrajīnāṃ Pada*' is didactic. In '*Rāvāṇamandodarīsaṃvāda*' by an anonymous poet dialogues between Laxmaṇa-Jānakī and Sītā-Rāvaṇa are also available. The episode of Rāvaṇa feeding stone besmeared by blood to Jaṭāyu is described here also. In a dialogue, a character speaks four lines in which second half of the second line becomes first half of the third line. '*Rāmarakṣā*' by an anonymous writer is a prose translation of ślokas about Rāma. In '*Rāmānāṃ Pada*' a manuscript No. 7556 of Prācya Vidya Mandir, Vadodara, there are Gujarātī-Hindī Padas of Kabīra, Raīdāsa, Rāje, Devākara, Rāmadāsa etc.

Thus while studying works on *Rāmakathā* from the 15th century upto the 19th century, it seems that no poet reaches upto the height of epic-poet. Although the content is picked up from the epic, no work is capable to rise upto the level of the epic poem. The form of Gujarāti *Rāmakathā* literature has remained more of *Ākhyāna* poem than of epic. Entire *Rāmayaṇas* written by poets like Uddhava, Nākara, Jāgeśvara and Giradhara are extensive *Ākhyāna* poems only. Among them *Adhyāyas* are *Kaḍvāṃ* only, in which there are *Pūrvachāyo*, *Dhhāḷa* and *Valaṇa*. In *Ākhyāna*, the content of *Kathā* is being sung in current *Rāgas*-sub-*rāgas* and *Deshies*. There is a listener before eyes of the poet and not the reader. At the end of *Kaḍavā* or at the end of the work, words like "*Śrotājana bolo*" (speak, O listeners!) are used. Invocation of a deity at the commencement of work or Kāṇḍa and *Phalaśruti* (statement about the fruit of hearing) at the end of *Kāṇḍa* or work are also of *Ākhyāna* tradition. The poet helps the listener to recapitulate the link of the *Kathā* by giving the summary of the *Kathā* already told in the forthcoming *Kāṇḍa*. The poet preaches in between, like an *Ākhyāna*-narrator. His aim seems to make understand the duty of an individual,

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the duty of the society and the duty of the nation. The poet makes suitable changes in original work for making Kathā interesting alongwith preaching for reformation of the society and religion. He leaves some episodes, at the same time he adds some new. He colours the society described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* with the colour of the then social life. Thus, the atmosphere in Gujarātī mediaeval *Rāmāyaṇa* not seeming either of Rāma's time or of Purāṇa period, but it is realised that of mediaeval Gujarāt. Descriptions for creating interest are also of the tradition of mediaeval *Ākhyāna's* descriptions. Songs, poems, prayers in between the work create interest keeping in mind the listener of *Ākhyāna* Colloquial words, proverbs, idioms preserve the link between the speaker and the listener. At the end, details of poet's name; the year of composition, information about the place etc. also follow the tradition of *Ākhyāna*. Characteristics of this most current and mass-appealing kind of literature are seen not only in entire works based on *Rāmakathā* but are also seen in separate episode-poems too. Episode-poems are more in number than entire extensive *Rāmāyaṇas*, in which *Padas, Garabies, Dhoḷa, Kakko, Śalokā, Candrāvaḷās, Ākhyāna, Cāturies*, dialogue-poems, message-poems etc. are included. In all these, characteristics of *Ākhyāna* kind like *Kaḍavāṃ, Valaṇa, Pūrvachāyo, Mangalavandana, Phalaśruti*, poets' name, the year of composition, *Rāgas* and Sub-*Rāgas* are also seen. Therefore, entire works or episode-works are also mostly *Ākhyāṇas* so far as the form is concerned. Episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* like *Sītāsvayṃvara, Rāmavivāha, Sītā-haraṇa, Aṅgadaviṣṭi, Rāvaṇa-Mandodarī Saṃvāda, Sītāviraha, Kumbhakarṇanidrā, Lavakuśacarita* seem to be more current.

The source of this *Ramakathā*-literature is mainly *Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa*. Moreover, the support has been taken of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, Yogavāsiṣṭha, Bhāgavata, Harivaṃśa, Padmapurāṇa, Agnipurāṇa, Hanumannāṭaka, Rāmacarita-mānasa, Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* and folk-*Rāmāyaṇa* like *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*. Poets like Jagajīvana and Giradhara are seen doing special interpretation of characters or episodes under the influence of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*.

Some works of the translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* draw our attention, alongwith works of an entire *Rāmāyaṇa*, to an effort to prepare an original work finding the main source from Vālmīki and adding other sources into it. It is not that these are direct verbatim translations, since there are some additional details and descriptions as in Ākhyāna to establish the sentiment. The colour of mediaeval descriptions is automatically mixed up with original colour and feeling. Sometimes it has happened that original words have been used in quite different meaning. Thus, the form of the translation has remained of a free translation true to spirit of the original or of summarised translation. Summarised translations of the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* or of the Yogavāsiṣṭha have been made

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more. Among such translations also as in Prītama's '*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*' usage of *Pūrvachāyo* and *Rāg.-Subrāgas, Copāīs* current in *Ākhyānas* draws attention.

Prose works are less in number in comparison to poetries. Prose works mostly give summary of Vālmīki's *kathā* or Yogavāsiṣṭha or of the work in hand itself. Among them, efforts have been made to preserve the interest of Kathā by interweaving certain episodes of folk-*Rāmāyaṇa* like *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa.*

In these works, based on *Rāmakathā* poets seem to have been inspired by predecessors from the point of view of content and style.

Joint works of father and son like Rāghavadāsa and his son Haridāsa, Limbajī and his son Jageśvara are also found.

Poets like Nākara, Viṣṇudāsa start with the introductory part of Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa and do not consider Bālakāṇḍa as separate. From this it is understood that some poets may be believing Bālakāṇḍa as an interpolation

In mediaeval Gujarātī *Rāmakathā*, the impact of *Kṛṣṇakathā* is also marked. Bhālaṇa's padas of '*Rāmabāḷalīlā*,' *Diwaḷībāī's Rāmabāḷalīlānī Garabīo*' episodes of Rāma's pilgrimage and bath-ritual in Giradhara's *Rāmāyaṇa* are examples of the same.

Characters of Gujarātī *Rāmakathā* are mainly human characters. Poets have kept them on human level not keeping them either on divine level or on demoniac level just to establish high ideals in average life too. In that way a new approach is given to the theory of incarnation. It is understood that poets have intended that in characters of Rāma-Sītā believed to have been original supreme Self and original Prakriti also human heart was throbbing originally but by ideals they became great. In Villion character like Rāvaṇa also a poet like Premānanda has shown traces of virtues. All like a mixture of good and bad live on equal level from the point of view of feelings.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* has been sung by common people (mass) of Gujarāt for centuries to-gether. There is a place for *Rāmakathā* in folk-literature. Haradāsas narrate *Kathā* of Giradhara's *Rāmāyaṇa*, narrate *Ākhyānas* simultaneously in episode-songs whose poet is unknown and which are still being sung, *Rāmāyaṇa* is being hummed by thousands. This fact is suggestive of the impact of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the mind of Gujarātī people. Episode of bodice, episode of Bharata scolding Kaikeyī, Sītāharaṇa, Sītāsvayaṃvara, episode of Daśaratha giving boon to Kaikeyī, lamentation of Kauśalyā, meeting of Sītā-Hanumāna, abandonment of Sītā etc. People have made immortal in the form of folk-literature by repeatedly singing.

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Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda

The Journal is published every year in three parts. These parts are devoted respectively to topics relating to (1) Humanities, (2) Social Sciences and (3) Science.

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FREE—WILL IN DHARMASMṚTIS

By

R. S. Betai*

Manu (400 B.C. to 200 B.C. according to P. V. Kane) is the foremost of our smṛti-writers. He is adjudged to be the most authoritative in the realm of Indian social philosophy. This explains the statements coming as they do by tradition that—

यत्किंचिद् वै मनुः प्राह तद्भेषजम् ।

(All that Manu has stated conduces to best social health).

and

मन्वर्थविपरीता या स्मृतिः सा न प्रशस्यते ।

(A smṛti that goes against the purport and verdict of the *Manusmṛti* is not worth any evlogy whatsoever).

Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Viṣṇu and all writers of Smṛtis almost, claim to follow Manu, of course as they understand him. Vijñāneśvara (*Mitākṣara*) and Mitramiśra (*Vīramitrodaya*) are very often diametrically opposed to each other in their views and still both look upon the *Manusmṛti* as most authentic and claim to follow it :

The word ' Dharmaśāstra' is normally looked upon as social philosophy in India, based primarily on *Varṇa* and *Āśramadharmas*.[1] Westerners however know it as ' law ' or ' Hindu law and Custom ' as J. Jolly puts it. Be it as it may, one thing is certain that the Dharmaśāstra, the Dharmasmṛtis in particular, are our social thought or social philosophy or sociology, whatever name we may give or accept. It places the individual in the centre and describes his righteous

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 45, Nos. 1-2, September Decembar, 1995 Issue, pp. 33-51.

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1. भगवन्सर्वधर्माणां यथावदनुपूर्वशः ।
आन्तरप्रभवाणां च धर्मा नो वक्तुमर्हसि ॥

Shastri, Acharya Jagadishlal: (ed.) *Manusmṛti* (1.2) (M.S.) Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1983.

वर्णाश्रमेतराणां नो ब्रूहि धर्मानशेषतः ॥

Acharya, Narayan Ram: (ed.) *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, (1.1) (V.S.) Nirnaya-sagar Press, 1949.

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conduct as an individual in form of prescriptions and prohibitions (*Vidhi* and *Niṣedha*) and through that we get a clear picture of the society as conceived of by this Dharmasmṛtiśāstra.

Manu gives as many as eight different important meanings of the word ' *Dharma*.'[2] It can be seen that Manu discusses the conduct of man the individual, man as related to *varṇa* and *Āśrama*, to the society and the state. To Manu, ideal *Dharma* is that which the noble learned follow and that too, without likes or dislikes.[3] This *Dharma* assumes its real, ideal character when it is sanctioned by the inner conscience of man. A similar idea can be traced in the *Dhammapada* (2-4) which states that -

" Great grows the glory of the earnest man who has roused himself, who is mindful, whose deeds are pure and deliberate, who restrains himself and lives according to law."[4]

Actually very often his way of life and conduct becomes social conduct.

We study the problem of free--will in the smṛtis in the context of these meanings of the word ' *Dharma* ' and also in the context of the ideas that the smṛtis have with regard to the problem of " Individual and Society."

Individual and Society

The relation between the individual and the society has been an interesting and a complex problem at the same time it can be stated more or less that it has defied all solutions so far. No sociologist has been able to give a solution to the relation between the two that will be fully satisfactory and convincing by reducing the conflict between the two to the minimum and by showing a way in which both will tend to bring about a healthy growth of each other

Aristotle has treated of the individual only from the point of view of the state and he wants the individual to fit in in the mechanism of the state and the society. Plato allows more liberty to him, but even he, dreaming of his ideal society, cannot convincingly solve the problem.

The view of the ancients with regards to the relation between the two will be instructive and interesting at the same time. The ancient Dharmaśāstra writers are our ancient sociologists and they lay down the most important laws in such a manner that they apply more or less to all the parts of the country known to the Aryans at the beginning of the christian era.[5]

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2. Betai, R. S : *Manusmṛti—A Fresh Approach*, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, 1964, p. 12 also *Manusmṛti* 2.7.

3. Vide the Definition of Dharma in *Manusmṛti* 2.1 also .6.

4. Shrikhande, R. D.: *Dhammapada*, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1923.

5. Kane, P. V.: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. I.

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Their theory of the relation between the two depends upon one fact that they help each other and degeneration in the one will mean degeneration in the other, while both demand the same importance and regard. The problem must be studied from the following points of view :—

(i) Education, (ii) Marriage, (iii) Caste-system and (iv) Spiritual Rise.

Education

Here it is not our purpose to study their theory of Education. We have simply to see how far education is the responsibility of the society and the individual and how far it is expected to benefit either.

From the oldest days there were educational institutions patronised by states, kings and rich donors. But our sociologists have conceived of an educational system based on these three points : (i) Education of the youth of the society must be a joint responsibility of all the earning members of the society. i.e., the householders.[6] (ii) It must be in the hands of benevolent respected teachers, who do not desire to make business of education and (iii) It must be modelled in such a way that it costs the minimum while the students get the maximum benefit of it.

(i) Students had to bring their own food by *Bhikṣā*, a term which is unfortunately translated as 'begging.'[7] Students become humble by it, but more important consequences of it must be noted. It has been made a duty and one of the major duties of the householders, rich and poor both to give food atleast to one student every day. (M.S. III 94, 96,; Y.S. I. 108). It implies that education of the youth is a joint responsibility of all and the great advantage of it is that no particular individual is obliged to bear a heavy monetary burden while on the other side, the institutions and the students will develop in a free atmosphere. To the student, whom the society feeds, it suggests that *Bhikṣā* is not a matter of right and the society obliges him, so that he should oblige the society in return, by service, after his education is complete [8] As a result we can see that in addition to making the individual and the society mutually dependent, society has made a beautiful arrangement of meeting the monetary needs of education.

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6. One very important duty of the *gṛhastha* is to give *Bhikṣā* to *Brahmacārins*. भिक्षां च भिक्षवे दद्यात्—*Manusmṛti* 3.94.

7. Bühler, G. : *Laws of Manu*, Sacred Books of the East series, Vol. XXV, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 198 '. (in the absence of any other suitable word in English. Vide M. S. 2 18 -184, and 2.197.

8. Complete in the normal course, or as the student with genuine thirst for knowledge desires Also wide Manu in *Manusmṛti* 2.243-24 '.

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(ii) Our ancient seers could never conceive of education in terms of business and profit. Institutions of old were never earning-centres. Again, the teachers who were normally Brāhmaṇas and in calamitous times non-Brāhmaṇas as well,[9] (M. S. II. 241, Vyāsa I. 35) were idealists who took to the profession simply with the spirit of service and the least expectation of monetary return. They were wedded to the institutions and were life-time members of it. They were expected to treat the rich and the poor, the prince and the beggar alike even when the former paid (normally at the end of his studies) and the latter paid in form of personal service. The uniqueness of these institutions lay in this that they brought the rich and the poor together on the same common platform and all who genuinely desired education, got the same from real ideal teachers. The teachers in return had their bread secure plus the life—time respect and veneration of the students and of the society as a whole (M.S. II. 145, 166, iv. 182).

(iii) Even though earn while you learn was not an accepted motto for the student, he was expected to serve himself (M.S. II 175-6). Expecting the minimum from the society and giving the maximum in return was the common ideal of all, and so of the student. So, while he lived on the barest necessities of life, and in the simplest possible way, (M.S. II. 177-185, Y.S. I), he had to help himself in all his needs. Self-service plus service to the teacher was his ideal (M.S. II, 192 to 200). No costly habits, no gorgeous dress, no fashionable living, on magnificient amenities of life was the rule, while on the other side, best education in the shortest possible time was his ambition.

Thus, irrespective of monetary status, the poor and the rich both were given greatest scope for education at the smallest cost and the cultivation of the best and noblest habits, by the society, so that the society got in return, highly educated, cultured, noble, wise, simple, learned men, who is the cream of the society, served the society first and came to deserve as genuine *snātakas*, the honour superior even to that of the king (M.S. II 139).[10] Here we see how the society trains up its own youth for a higher better progressive society in future. The individual students also form the ideal of service first to the society and then to his own self.

Marriage

Ancient forms of marriage are a highly complicated question. But here we deal with the question from our relevant angle of vision of noting what ideas it gives to us about the relation between the individual and the society.

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9. अब्राह्मणाध्ययनमापत्काले विधीयते । M.S. 2.241
श्रद्धानः शुभां विद्यामाददीतावरादपि । M S 2.238
10. M.S. 2 139

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Eight forms of marriage are known (M. III 21) and recognised. Different scholars have given sanction of legality to different forms, the last four forms in particular. The forms are praised as good or condemned as bad by different writers differently. Again, all forms are not good for all the castes (M.S.III, 22, Y.S. I). To illustrate, the *Rākṣasa* form is good and welcome to the Kṣatriyas though not good and even condemned for the *Brāhmaṇas* (M.S. III 23-24). Again, with every lower caste, more of slackness is tolerated.

The important facts to be generalised are these :– (i) It is unique of our ancient system to allow as much of scope as possible to man's ways, good and bad in winning a woman for himself. It is really significant that Manu has known these forms as '*Strīvivāhas*,'[11] (ii) When so many forms are given legal and social sanction, it reflects the anxiety of the society to protect social morality on one side, to protect the honour of the weaker sex on the other hand and to allow as much of freedom as possible to men to avoid unnatural behaviour and morbidity that might result from undue restraint.

We can thus see that our ancient system and forms of marriage are a clear proof of the fact that our sociologists reveal that mind of the society that gives all possible freedom to the individual, tries hard to uphold social morality and again avoids, as far as possible, clash between the two.

Aagain when Manu and others praise one form as ideal and condemn the other as bad, it reveals only the social mind that is anxious to lay down its own rules and idealism on the individual and to keep him on the path of health and progress, while even tolerating the weaknesses of the individual. The wise want that the good in the individual should do the maximum good to the society and the bad should have the minimum influence on it. The Hindus never wanted its members to be patternised or blindly conventionalised and the ambition and the energy of the individual was never to be sacrificed for the society except when unavoidable.

Further, it is to be noted that at least till the beginning of the Christian era, the social rules were not highly rigid or ruthless. Thus, the *Manusmṛti* with its conservation, allows widow–marriage, remarriage and perhaps even divorce under exceptional circumstances, if not as a general rule.[12] Monogamy, beneficial as it was to the health and progress of the society, was the ideal and polygamy was allowed only as an exception.

The next remarkable tendency to be seen here is that, while the individual is made responsible for and expected to be an anxious guard of the social good by placing proper restraints on him, the evil effects of the possible lapses of the individuals are washed out by the society. To illustrate, a girl might have been

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11. अष्टाविमान्समासेन स्त्रीविवाहान्निबोधत । M S. 3.20
12. Betai, R. S., *op. cit.*, pp. 157 161.

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molested in the *Gāndharva*, *Rākṣasa* or *Paiśāca* form and then discarded by her man. There was no law to force the culprit to marry her. In this case, society looks upon the molested woman as the legal wife and her son if any as his natural son and Manu, Kauṭiya etc. go to the extent of allowing her regular marriage with another man if that was possible.

Marriage it should be noted, is not for sex-enjoyment. It is a mark of responsibility and duty. The householder, the educated in particular, has willin ly to impose a strict code of conduct on himself and then be honoured as the protector and maintainer of the other three *Āśramas* (M.S. III. 77-78), Rights and duties do not go together, duties go first and rights follow. Again the individual householder has all duties and almost no rights, his delight is in duties. This is an evident proof of the fact that the individual, as an ideal, is taught to serve the society first, while on the other side, society gives him his due respect, position and status.

Yet one more thing is to expect the least from the society and give the maximum to it and hence it is stated that the householder should collect wealth that will last for three years, one year, three days or just one day.[13] The individual is not repressed, he has full love from and confidence in the society and all that he does is willing contribution to the social good. It can be seen that social and individual growth are complementary and while the individual is expected to tie himself with love to all living beings, ultimately this attitude is bound to do good to the individual as well. This is the proper explanation of the five *Mahāyajñas* (M. S. 3rd Chh) with their wide social and individual implications.[14]

Caste-System

The Caste-System of the Hindus has been praised and criticised both. It is known as the real socialism of the Hindus, assuring work and bread to all and avoiding all rivalry and competition. Here, as in other problems, we limit ourselves to the individual and social implications of this system.

It is insisted on that normally man must take to his own family profession and win his bread from it. His inheritance and development will accommodate him the best only in the profession peculiarly that of his caste. This may sound as a very big blow on the freedom of the individual. Thus, it will happen, one may fear, that a *Brāhmaṇa* may lose his educational learnings and yet become a teacher and a spiritual guide while a *Śūdra* may remain in his low profession for ever inspite of all his learning and spiritual development. Really the problem is not to be looked at from this angle. Society has known and tolerated no—

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13. कुसूलधान्यको वा स्यात्कुम्भीधान्यक एव वा ॥ etc. M.S. 4.7
14. M.S. 4.69 to 76

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brahmin philosophers, saints, *Bhaktas* etc. and Śūdras were allowed all knowledge except that of the Vedas. This division meant that each caste was, through generations, most suited to certain types of work and while there was every chance of exceptions, a very large majority of individuals in each caste took to the family profession. Hindu society has evolved this fine system so that both individually and collectively there is ease, convenience, progress and natural growth and no side of the society remains ill-grown or unhealthy. The caste—system is thus helpful and suitable to both the individual and the society and is evolved in such a manner that it helps them to remain together and mutually complementary. By this system it seems that society wants specialisation that will lead particular groups to give the best return of their energy, both for the individual and the society as a whole. In spite of this grand specialisation, rivalry and competition are avoided. Society thus assures work, bread and freedom from competition to the individual and his group and at the same time wants the best return from them. It is not unnatural that no society can allow absolute freedom or 'as you will' tendency to individuals and place restrictions which in addition to benefitting the society will also benefit the individual in the end. The view of Mahatma Gandhi is far-sighted when he wants the old *Varṇa* system to return in such a manner that, under, modern conditions, the individual wins his bread from his peternal profession and takes to other work only as voluntary unpaid service.[15]

The *varṇa*—system has been charged with creating a group of Brahmins having all rights and licenses aad a group of śūdras condemned to slavery. The charge is false. It is true that owing to certain peculiar reasons there were certain restrictions on the śūdras even in the oldest days and these restrictions increased with the growth of puritanism and narrowness of outlook in the whole society. But, if the original system is viewed as it is, we see that if the śūdras are low, it means that (i) Society expects much less from them, (ii) a very big group of professions is reserved for them,[16] (iii) in normal and cultural spheres there are fewer restrictions on them, (iv) the general rule is, higher, the status of the caste, greater the responsibility and fewer the professions open to him. Thus, the *Brāhmaṇa* is glorified, but in the same breath heaviest responsibilities and duties are placed on him and the poorest is he expected to be. This is bound to happen in any society. Society inflicts greater duties on and extracts greater service from men who are higher in status and more educated. It is not true that only God tests his loved devotee more. Society has a right to extract more from its upper strata and honour it more as well. Thus society takes the maximum that each ones capacity can give and then distributes its fruits evenly to all. Gandhiji

15. Gandhi, M. K.: *Varnavyavasthā*, (Gujaratī), Navajeevan Press, Ahmedabad, 1945, p. 61.

16. *Ibid*, p. 65.

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just rightly caught the spirit of this when he stated the *Varṇa*-System degenerated when the *Brāhmaṇa* forgot his duty to guide and the *śūdra* forgot his duty to serve.[17]

Spiritual Rise

This question need not detain us long. One important thing is to be added. While there was scope for exceptions and so many men were known to have embraced *Saṇnyāsa* directly from studenthood,[18] the general and normal rule was to allow *Saṇnyāsa* only after man passes through all the various stages of life and fulfils his duty to the ancestors, family caste and society (M.S.VI. 36-37). The important thing to be noted is that the individual is taught that duty to society and others comes first, man must do his level best for the social order first and then only serve himself, attain his own highest conceivable rise. This spirit in the individual would do good to him and to the society both and it will make his spiritual rise sure and natural. Philosophically speeking a man on the path of God unites himself with the whole universe but the first seeds of this unity are sown in the consciousness of the individual that his love and duty to others come first.

Conclusions

Right from the oldest days, the Hindu has shown greatest tolerance and has, by slow degrees, assimilated various Indian and foreign groups within its fold. Normally the Hindu mind has been balanced. The Hindu life has shown the capacity to stand against all tides and odds and at the same time has progressed with gradual rise. Though the Hindu respects convention, there is less of blindness, ruthlessness, superstition etc. in him. The Hindu can accommodate himself better than other peoples under changing circumstances. In his blood thoughtless rash spirit of revolution does not exist. He is not much attracted by the reform and change coming from great revolutions. India does not know of many individual revolutionaries or great upheavals. The main reason is that he is more united in love with his society, confident and alert and happy in it than many other groups in the world. Hindu society never allows its individuals to suffer from impatience that will break the mind to pieces. The Hindu knows that his individual good and rise are safe in his spirit of service to the society. India has seen no big revoluntionary except Gautama the Buddha because revolution has not been a necessity in India.

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17. *Ibid.* p. 66.

18. As Manu in *Manusmṛti* tells us, one can be a lifetime student also.

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From the above discussion we come to the following conclusions:—

(i) Society and individual are made mutually dependent and responsible and mutually complimentary. The result is that society progresses well with the minimum possible restrictions of the individual, in the blessed spirit of service first.

(ii) A very wide scope is given to the natural development of the energies of the individual in such a manner that in the end, society will benefit the best by it.

(iii) Spirit of tolerance, assimilation, love and liberality are uniquely Indian.

(iv) While society reaps the best advantage of the properly utilised and developed energies of the individuals, an attempt is made to see that the normal and sometimes even the abnormal weakness of the individuals have the least possible effect on the society.

(v) Spirit of service and duty to the ideal of the ideal of the individual and spirit of tolerance, broad mindedness and security of the individual is the worry of the society.

(vi) There is no rigid rule to develop the individual in a particular pattern suitable to the rules of the society.

(vii) The general rule is higher, the status and culture of the individual, lesser his rights and greater his duties.

(viii) Society demands greater sacrifices from its greater individuals while the fruits of the works of all are meant equally for all.

(ix) Since the love of the individuals develops gradually through family, caste, group etc., his love and care develop gradually through these.

(x) A sincere attempt is made by the sociologists to bring to the minimum the clash between the individual and the society, so that there will be few psychological problems for the individual and the society both.

(xi) The inherent capacities, energies and weaknesses of the individual are properly taken into account and the evolution of the relation between the two is made as natural as possible.

(xii) The result is that no rule is hard and fast, there is ample of scope for exceptions and hence for progress as well.

(xiii) Human values and idealism being duly respected, the development of the relation between the two is more or le s philosophical.

Prescriptions and Prohibitions :

One glaring point to be noted about the style of writing of the smṛtis is that they keep man as an individual in the centre and describe his duties of righteous conduct in the form of prescriptions and prohibitions. Man is asked to perform certain acts and duties and keep away from certain others. In all

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spheres of man's life these rules stand. If man decided to resort to the path of righteousness and duty, there is no option to man; he has got to follow the path laid down by these Scriptures, on the path of the vedic authority and established conventional practice. On the face of it, at first sight, we would feel that there can be and is no scope almost for man to liberty The smṛtis seem to accept what Western philosophers call determinism, i.e., everything is fixed, there is little scope for option or not resorting to the path laid down. Man can possibly defer from the conventional path at great risk to himself and to the society as a whole. Both the individual and social conduct of man are fixed by these moral, ethical and legal rules. We have conceded that *laise affair* policy and wanton and free, thoughtless and hyper-emotional behaviour of any and every man cannot come under free-will. Actually, as we have discussed and our *Śāstrakāra*s have accepted though rather indirectly, one must actually have a clear, full and keen sense of freedom, will and free-will. He must have the essential qualification to deserve to exercise his free-will.

But things are not as bad as they seem to be. The prescriptions and prohibitions are not full-proof. They permit a fair amount of option, behaviour, under exceptional circumstances and even for calamitous times-*Āpatkāla*. To illustrate, all the rather hesitant permission of widow-marriage and remarriage for woman as also breaking of the marriage ties comes under *Āpatkāla*. We are also told that " one can study under a non-brahmin teacher in calamitous times (*Āpatkāla*) ".

There are so many exceptions to the general rules laid down that permit a fair amount of freedom to man to exercise his own desired option To illustrate, the general rule for man is that he must necessarily pass through the first three stages of life-*Āśrama*s and then only take to the path of renunciation and liberation (M.S 6.2; 6.3;). If man goes otherwise, he suffers downfall, *Patatyadhaḥ*. But Manu also permits of *saṇnyāsa* right from the stage of studenthood-*Brahmacarya* (6.36-37). He says—" Unmarried *Brahmacārin*s in great numbers attained to *svarga* without giving progeny to their families," (M.S. 5.159).[19] This comes in the context of resorting to *saṇnyāsa* directly from studenthood.

There are again special priviledges laid down for brahmins in general and learned brahmins-*Śrotriya*s-in particular. These include even absence of corporeal punishment even if the Brahmin be the worst of offenders. He says:

न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्यात् ।
सर्वेषापेष्ववस्थितम् ॥
राष्ट्रादेनं बहिः कुर्यात् ।
समग्रधनमक्षतम् ॥ (8.380)

19. M.S. 6.38

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" Really, a brahmin should not be put to death (even if) he has committed all conceivable crimes. He should be banished from the nation with all his wealth safe for him ".[20]

Still, for self-defence, every one is permitted to kill without thought, even a brahmin who has mastered all the Vedas, if he comes with the intention to kill you—*Ātatāyinam Āyāntam*, (8 349-351).[21]

Actually so many priviledges recommended for brahmins show the liberality of the society not to put an end to learning of learned brahmins by putting an end to their life. Rightly is it stated that

संभावितस्य चाकीर्ति-
र्मरणादतिरिच्यते ॥ (*Gītā* 2 34)

" Defame is the possibility to bear, worse than death for self-respected persons ".

We should ask one question to ourselves. " In a society that holds the *Brāhmaṇa* to be a learned, moral, noble, cultured, sacred personality will banishment be less of a punishment than any other? Will not shaving of the head (*maunḍyam*) be as severe as hanging? Loss of prestige, loss of self-respect, in fact loss of every thing follows in store for such a man who is spared from death. The living of the criminal *Brāhmaṇa* will not so much reveal his right to live and escape punishment as the liberality of the society that allows him to exist now as a very ordinary man. The punishment that Manu prescribes leads to his moral death and reveals the nobility of the social order that refuses to kill him.' [22]

Here, the ideal of life of the Brahmin, as laid down by Manu is also significant. Rightly is it stated that " whenever Manu glorifies the *Brāhmaṇa* as the lord of everything on earth, as the best and the highest, it is more as a matter of great responsibility rather than as right. Greatest insistence on duty is expected of him. At several places Manu talks of duties of the twice-born as if these were the duties exclusively of the *Brāhmaṇa* and this is natural in so far as Manu upholds *Dharma* and eternal conduct. He is really expected to be the best of men when he is said to deserve the highest honour. We agree with P. Thomas when he states that

" The duties and responsibilities imposed on Brahmins by law, are, it must be mentioned in keeping with their high social position.

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20. M.S. 8.380
21. आततायिनमायान्तं हन्यादेवाविचारयन्—M.S. 8.350
22. Betai, R. S.: *op. cit.* pp. 215-216.

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Though no other caste can dictate self-discipline on himself, his life is one of duty towards society, the gods and himself ".[23]

Prescriptions and Prohibitions and Social Norms :

Manu claims that his work lays down the rules of conduct, a code of conduct, we might say, that is principally twofold—*Varṇadharma* and *Āśramadharma* (1.2).[24] From these two principal spheres of human conduct has developed a whole fabric of human life in its conduct in all spheres so much so that the question is not of what sphere is covered up, but of what sphere is not covered up. In a way rather wider, we can say that our smṛtis lay down social norms in all spheres of life. Rightly does Kingsley Davis state :

" A strong element in the culturally acquired patterns is the normative element. The feeling that the culturally acquired patterns *ought* to be followed. The factual order is what it is, therefore, partly because the normative order is what it is,[25]

and,

" If there could be no normative order there could be no human society, for the innate equipment of the human organism is not sufficiently comprehensive or integrated to give automatic responses that are functionally adequate for society ".[26]

Now, these norms do not remain stagnant or never-changing, the prescriptions and prohibitions laid down get modified, change though slowly and not apparently. Wordly events, changing realities of life the modified practice by groups and the deep influence of the life of towering personalities etc. bring about modifications and even changes. It is yet true that these social norms prescriptions and prohibitions in case of the smṛtis " give to human society a marvellous cohesion, but a cohesion based on a different principle from that found in any other society ".[27]

It is also true that most of these prescriptions and prohibitions, laying down the standard of ideal conduct have become an integral part of the individual life in Indian society then and were practised and followed in a natural course and there was little defiance. If society felt that certain individuals defied these, they

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23. Thomas in " *Hindu Religion, Customs, Manners,* " O. B. Taraporewala, Bombay, 1970, pp. 11-12.

24. Supra fn. 1.

25. Kingsly Davis in " *Human Society,*" Collier Macmillan Co , New York, 1969, 24th impression, p. 52.

26. *Ibid.* p. 53.

27. *Ibid* p. 54.

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could be criticised or tolerated as exceptions, or, social fear had a certain impact that brought them on the right tract as traditional society would feel. There was again a deep influence of custom and in later centuries it began to be accepted that " Custom was more powerful than scriptural word "[28]

Actually the whole social order, in all spheres, laid down an ideal righteous conduct so much so that it left little scope for individuals to think, or act otherwise. The social norms or these prescriptions and prohibitions had definitely a social order that was healthy, sound, secure and firm. But it can be asked—Social order must necessarily change though gradually and slowly. Will not degeneration set in if there is too much of a hold of these prescriptions and prohibitions and custom ? What about social change and progress ? Will there not be the fear of a mechanistic social order creeping in ? Will not a time come when the norms of ideal social order laid down are forgotten ?

Whatever we may say it cannot be forgotten that with the social order inherited, Indian society has lived through the worst of trials and tribulations; it has often tottered no doubt but has again stood firm. Indian social order and civilization have lived at a time when most of the later civilizations tottered, fell were annihilated and became a matter of the past; are forgotten.

One of the reasons of this fact is that free-will did exist and was exercised by highly capable and powerful personalities. In the days of the smrtis, even though social control was very much firm and powerful even though we would feel that it permitted of no social change we cannot say that there was no free-will.

But before we go to this question let us analyse in a few details the following two verses of Manu; they deal with definition of *Dharma*-ideal rightous conduct and the authorities of *Dharma.*

विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्भिः
नित्यमद्वेषरागिभिः ।
हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातः
यो धर्मस्तं निबोधत ॥ (2.1)

and

वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं
स्मृतिशीले च तद्विदाम् ।
आचारश्चैव साधूना-
मात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च ॥ (2 6)

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28. शास्त्राद्दृढिर्बलीयसी ।

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" That should be known as Dharma which is constantly practised by the noble learned without any jealousy or attachment and which is consented to by one's inner consciousness."

" The whole of the Veda is the (full) source of Dharma. So is the conduct and *Smṛti*-writing of those who (proficiently) know it. (In addition) is the conduct of noble ascetic persons as also the genuine, full (and absolute) satisfaction of one's self. "

The first verse defines Dharma or righteous conduct evolving from the prescriptions and prohibitions in all spheres of man's individual and social life. The definition is significant in that it takes for Dharma the model of the learned.[29] Their righteous conduct is Dharma. But the qualifications of the learned are significant. They should be (a) noble in family and culture, (b) They should ever and regularly remain engrossed in the practice of Dharma, (c) They should be devoid of the faults of attachment and jealousy etc i.e., they shall practise Dharma not for any self-interest and through selfishness or personal interest but simply because it is the right course of action

One more trait of Dharma is also stated. It is " consent or due approval of the inner consciousness of man." This can imply that even after the observation of the practice of Dharma by learned men with the qualifications mentioned above, if the inner consciousness of a man is not prepared to give consent to it, one is free not to accept such a prescription or prohibition and act as his inner voice tells him. In social life in India we have in the days of the Smṛtis, mostly followed the practice of noble learned as mentioned above. And the defiant practice of persons with awakened inner consciousness had always the scope to enrich Dharma. When the inner consciousness, of man awakens, surely what he practises will never be astray; he will be conscious that he is as much ennobled as the qualified learned are. When the inner consciousness of man gets really awakened, he has a new vision, a vision that nobody else has.

The definition is very wide and gives ample of scope to the elite in society to continue to modify, change, continue to bring about an enrichment in the social order. Surely this would keep society healthy, strong and enriched. It is an unfortunate state of affairs that in actual reality and practice, very soon ' custom' had its stronghold.

This interpretation is amply supported and enlightened by the next verse in which the sources of Dharma are defined or enumerated.[30] While we are told

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29. M. S. 2.1 The Important words here are *vidvadbhiḥ*, *sadbhiḥ*, *adveṣarāgibhiḥ* and *nityam*.

30. M. S. 2.6

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that the entire full source of Dharma is the Veda, other sources of Dharma are— (i) the *smṛtis*-writings and character as also conduct of those who are proficient in the Vedas; (ii) the way of life and behaviour of ascetic persons and (iii) the genuine satisfaction of one's self[31] However he states—

सम्यक्संकल्पजः कामो धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम् ।

Desire that results from the right type of vow or determination to do something extraordinary.

It would therefore be true to state that these prescription and prohibitions need not necessarily be followed in letter and eternally. What is necessary is that they should become a part and parcel of human behaviour in a natural course, with proper understanding and grasp. Kingsly Davis therefore rightly states:

" For the individual growing up in a society, each norm is not necessarily an external rule which he may obey or try to evade, it may be a part of himself not regarded objectively at all or understood and felt as a rule, but simply a part of himself automatically expressed in behaviour."[32]

In the long run therefore only those rules will remain in practice which social conscience, expressed in the practice of many, has adopted. There is in the opinion of the smṛtikāras, ample of scope for personalities of extraordinary stature to modify change, alter these rules.

When we are told that Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and others are our prime law-givers they are these personalities of high calibre and stature who observed life keenly and to the full and as a whole and laid down these prescriptions and prohibitions. Here again kingsly Davis states:

' The conception of a norm implies by definition a sense of obligation. The individual in a given situation ....should, ought, or must follow certain behaviour ... The idea of resistance of some obstacle to the norm is clearly implicit in the definition ".[33]

Besides the options and exceptions accepted and the due provisions of calamitous times conceded, the free scope that is permitted to high personalities proves that atleast upto 200 A D. i.e, the time of Nārada speaks for the fact that the smṛtikāras had no notion of the later degeneration and that giving scope and excuse to later writers to seek their authority even in the justification to it. *Śāstrādrūḍhirbalīyasī* is certainly not acceptable or conceded by the smṛtikāras.

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31. आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च । M.S. 2.6
32. Kingsly Davis, *op. cti.*, p. 55.
33. *Ibid.* p. 56.

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Free-will in the Dharmasmṛtis :

On the basis of this we go to the question of free-will in the Dharmasmṛtis, i.e., in the realm of social and sphere and order We will discuss this question from two angles of vision—what is free-will in the Dharmasmṛtis, our prime authoritative works on society and social order and how far is this free-will able to function in the realty of the days of these smṛtis.

One Trait of Indian Mind :—

Before analysing the above mentioned questions, we should take note of one glaring trait of the Indian mind. Indians of old have mostly been rules by towering personalities in different spheres of society, of social life. The sphere can be social, religious, ethical, moral, philosophical or all combined into one. The rise and growth of Indian civilization has depended, more upon individuals than on groups or organizations. Word of authority is ever respected in high esteem. The word of the Vedas is the word of *Ṛṣi*s or seers; the dominant individuals in the Upaniṣads are also sages and kings, Vyāsa is the key character in the *Mahābhārata*; Rāma is the monarch par excellence in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Jainism and Buddhism arose and flourished in this country and for centuries and ages the two faiths depended upon the assumed words, preaching and life of Mahāvira and Buddha. They have ruled ever as supreme authorities. Lord Krishna gave the " Song Celestial " to humanity through Arjuna. In the social sphere Manu is known as the prime law-giver and almost all later writers, often with divergent views have claimed to take Manu as the final authority.[34]

It is human psychology even to-day, that the Indian mind is ruled by individuals, rather than groups or organizations, though we cannot state that they are not rules by values. Actually Indian blood is cool and social change comes in rather slowly. There has been no revolution worth the name and the only revolutionaries that India has known are Buddha and to some extent Mahāvira. The impact of Krishna was far greater but he was not a revolutionary, he only reinstated with all soundness and firmly the almost immortal values of Indian life, civilization and culture.

Naturally all towering noble personalities which had *Vajra*-like ability contributed something new; Unique to the Indian culture to be assessed and recognised as great personalities as towering men and women when there was a fair amount of scope for exercise of free-will. Here free-will meant freedom to think, ponder over and act freely in case of towering, extraordinary personalities after full consideration and grasp of stark realities of life, the spirit of determinism conventions and traditions and after they could assess the scope of change and

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34. Vide Bṛhaspati—मन्वर्थविपरीता या सा स्मृतिर्न प्रशस्यते ।

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progress. They might exercise their iron-will for liberation on their part or exercise their genuine free-will for the good of humanity at large.

With this let us come to the scope and nature of free-will that had scope of exercise in the realm of social life. Let us see what free-will meant to our smṛtikāras.

Kingsly Davis summarizing the views of Macīver and E A. Ross, has the following statement to explain the importance of Normative order to the society. He states :

" ..... social norms are extremely varied and extremely pervasive,..... they are a peculiar feature of human society and.... . they are an essential part of what we call social order. They have arisen as a feature of cultural adaptation. The individual acquires them through a process of indoctrination. Some of them he internationalizes and these become part of his personality. Some of them he respects because of their consequences. Regardless of whether or not he obeys the norms completely, they influence his behaviour and his thinking. It is largely through them that his conduct is regulated and integrated with the conduct of his fellows. It is through them that a society acquires a coherent structures and manages to get the business of group life tended to ".[35]

This applies fully to the prescriptions and prohibitions laid mostly on the individual in all spheres of life as an individual and a member of the society.

But in these dharmas i.e., prescriptions and prohibitions Manu and following him other smṛtikāras leave scope to the head of state to fix up and even to enact his own laws. He is told " The king shall fix up his own rules and laws after due consideration of the only prevalent prescriptions and prohibitions of the country, castes, families etc.[36]

Similarly, for persons of noble birth, inspired by a firm will and clear conviction as mentioned in verses 2-1 and 2-6 of Manu mentioned above, there is scope for bringing about change in these prescriptions and prohibitions by their own practice by men, without any selfish worldly desires. They practise accordingly only when they are convinced that what they think and practise accordingly is for individual and social good. Very often they are anxious to uphold social and individual morals and so they become instrumental in bringing about change. They practise what they preach or proclaim and believe to be good the right type of action. There is a consistency in their practise.

But, it should be noted that they do not challenge the old values and norms, do not openly revolt against the word of the smṛtis that is stated, rightly or wrongly to follow the word of the Vedas that is considered to be the highest

35. *Human Society* p.79.

36. M.S. 8.41.

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authority. In India of the old nothing substantial could be achieved by revolt or open defiance of the established usage. If the conservatives in the society feel that established practice is being defied, they cannot succeed much because of the very high esteem in which these noble souls are held. In due course of time, what these noble ones thought and practised is held, first as an exception and then it becomes a social norm. Minor differences in the writers of the smṛtis, say, in the questions of marriage the status of the śūdras, the special priviledges of the brahmins, court-proceedings law of inheritance etc. are due to differing practices in different parts of the country as also due to the constant practice of rules as conceived by these noble men and women in the society of their own free-will that was inspired mainly by their own inner conscience and by a strong and firm feeling of individual and social good.

Thus, free-will was very much there and duly accepted in the society, accepted by the law-givers-Manu, Yājñavalkya etc. Persons who exercised their free-will in theory and practice were duly respected by the smṛtikāras. This respect and scope remained till society became stagnant and blind to reform and change. It was later a time when " blind custom was held to be more powerful than the word of the Śāstras including the word of the Vedas." A long dark period lurked over the social sphere for centuries and a period of new awakening came with the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with Vidyasagar, Ram Manohar Roy etc.

This was followed by a band of great social reformers of the later half of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century when we had, highly enlightened great social reformers like Maharshi Karve, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Ranade and so many others who brought about social changes and social advancement on their own, of their own firm free-will while they never claimed to be revolutionaries and sometimes claimed to revive original old values. Dayanand Saraswati very specifically stressed that he wanted the revival of old *Vedadharma* and Vedic values and lived and fought for these. The scope of free-will that Manu and yājñavalkya accepted, gave to us Mahatma Gandhi whose work in the realm of social life and social change contributed lots towards the awakening, advancement and emancipation of Indian womanhood, he did lots for the so-called untouchables who were the poor, lowly and lost of the society he wanted a revolution in our system of education and therefore evolved a theory and ideal of national education. He was a staunch Vaishnava and an ideal Hindu and claimed that he was only reviving the great old values of Indian culture.

All this proves that our old law-givers in the realm of social organization and social life left scope for social reform, social change, social advancement. But it was expected to be the free-will in theory and practice only of the deserving

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few whose word theory and practice laid down new norms new prescriptions that in due course often became a part and parcel of the word of the smṛtikāras. This being the case, we cannot find fault with them. These smṛtikāras are not responsible for the later social stagnancy, degeneration, stress on externals etc. that follows. The reasons of this require a new, separate, long study which is not our purpose at present.

And it should be conceded that there also in the sphere of social thought, there is free-will but within limits-limits of the realities of life, society, culture, accepted moral values, one's own mental and emotional make up and so on. But the fact further is that with the exception of Mahāvīra and Buddha the promulgators of *Nivṛtti dharma*, no glaring dissatisfaction has been shown by the reformers and furtherers of world-order and social organization. They thus accepted that their free-will works but within certain specified limits. They have still continued to infuse new oxygen in the social order and the social order has continued to live

Actually slow and steady change, progress is temperamentally more suited to the Indian mind. Even Mahāvīra and Buddha brought about some quick change. But once that the two faiths were established, the same tendency of slowness, steadiness, respect for the authority of the scriptures custom and so on crept in. The same tendency of division into sects and sub-sects was very much there. The social organisation in their faiths again became the same as with Hinduism.

One more glaringly remarkable fact to be noted is this. The social order with its prescriptions and prohibitions is known as Dharmaśāstra. We have already noted the many meanings of the word 'Dharma.' No man of free-will could therefore work, act freely in thought and action except through Dharma. All our social reformers, furtherer of the social order and social organisation have been men of Dharma. It is only because of this that their ideology and practice of Dharma could inspire confidence a band of followers and in due course the changes that they brought about become in course of time a part and parcel of the social order.

And who can state that there can be absolute free-will anywhere, in any sphere of life, at any time and in any country or civilizarion? Free-will of magnanimous persons can and will bring about change, advancement whether it is progress or not. But free-will as we have understood, social in philosophy, brings about changes slow or fast and only time of centuries can prove whether it was for progress or for betterment or not.

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SAHASRANĀMA TRADITION IN INDIA

By

BHAGYALATA PATASKAR*

1. What is Sahasranāma Literature?

Sahasranāma (SN) is a literary composition in which the names of a particular deity are enumerated. This is the metrical composition (almost in *anuṣṭup metre*) with a purpose of daily recitation. Thus we find *Viṣṇusahasranāma*, *Lalitāsahasranāma*, *Śivasahasranāma* are still practised.

When it is SN the number of the names listed is 1,000 (in some cases more than one thousand). Apart from SN we have the compositions entitled as *Dvādaśanāma*, *Aṣṭottaraśatanāma*, *Śatanāma*, *Ṣoḍaśanāma*, *Ṣaṭpañcāśannāma*, *Daśanāma*, *Aṣṭottaraśatasahasranāma* etc.[1]

By SN I intend all these types of compositions.

Apart from these, there are mere lists of names of one deity which are called *Nāmāvalī*. In SN we find the names enumerated metrically, most of the times in nominatives. However in *Nāmāvalī*, we find the names disjunctively

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 45, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 1995 Issue pp. 53-64.

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1. e.g.

Gaṇapatisahasranāmastotram
Rāmatriśatanāmastotram
Śivāṣṭanāmastotram
Sūryadvādaśanāmastotram
Dattātreyadaśanāmastotram
Dattātreyaśatpañcāsannāmastotram
Rāmaṣoḍaśanāmastotram
Śivāṣṭaviṁśattyuttaraśatanāmāvalī
Dattātreyāṣṭaviṁśatyuttaranāma
Sūryasaptatināmāni
Dattātreyāṣṭottarasahastranāma
Akārādikṣakārāntāṣṭotraśatasahasranāma

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mentioned and not as it is, but prifixed by "*Om*" and declined with dative ending, further connected with "*Namaḥ*."[2]

There are more than 100 SNs available in printed and manuscript forms.[3] Even we find different SNs for one single deity.[4]

In SN, we find different types of compositions. e.g. names beginning with particular letter, are listed in one list, i.e. the name of Kṛṣṇa beginning with *K*, names of Rāma beginning with *R*.[5]

These SN literature has its own style of composition. The names listed there, are in nominatives and can be explained as *Prātipadikārthe Prathamā*[6] viz.

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2. e.g. See the verse from LSN.
śrīmātā śrīmahārājñī śrīmatsiṁhāsaneśvarī
cidagnikuṇḍasambhūtā devakāryasamudyatā

The traditional *nāmāvalī* is
Om śrīmātre namaḥ
Om śrīmahārājñai namaḥ
Om śrīmatsiṁhāsaneśvaryai namaḥ etc.

3. Apart from the published material, following catalogues list some manuscripts on SN

a. *A Descriptive Catalogue of manuscripts in the Moropanta collection* in the Library of the University of Bombay. Vol. I, Ed. by Dr. U. R. Bhise.

b. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tanjor Mahal* S S.M. Library, Tanjor. Vol. XIX, Ed. by P.P.S. Sastri

c. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts.* Vol. V, Part II Varanaseya Sanskrit Visvavidyalaya Library. Sarasvati Bhavan, Varanasi

4. e.g.
Rāmasahasranāma in *Rudrayāmala*, *Liṅgapurāṇa* and *Padmapurāṇa*.
Śivasahasranāma in *Liṅga* and *Vāyu Purāṇa*.

5. e.g.
kakārādikālisahasranāma
rakārādirāmasahasranāma
kakārādi kṛṣṇasahasranāma

6. P. 2. 3. 46. *prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā*. Tr. The nominative endings are added in the sense of meaning of a bare stem, to denote the grammatical gender, to denote quantity and to denote the number only.

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denoting just the meaning of the stem. It doesn't yield any particular sentence, thus these are only names which are just utterred or mutterred, in *Japa*. However exception to it is the *Khristasahasranāma* where the names are listed also in dative so as to connect them with *namaḥ* or accusative as an object of a verb like *bhaje, vande*[7] etc. Elsewhere also we find the enumeration of the names of one deity but since it occurs in the frame of sentence, it is not regarded as SN.[8]

These various names of deity normally describe the deity physically. e.g. *dhanvī* (in VSN), *puṇḍarīkākṣaḥ* (VSN), *anavadyāṅgī* (LSN), *pañcavaktrā* (LSN) *jaṭī, carmī, smaśānavāsī* (ŚSN) *gabhastimān, tejas* (SQN) *ekadaṁṣṭra, vakratuṇḍa* (GSN), *gajavaktra, mahodara,* (GSN), *ghanaśyāma* (RSN), *pītavāsaḥ mahoraskaḥ vipulaṁsaḥ* (RSN).

Some names describe the power of that deity. e.g. *dhātā, vidhātā, amogha* (VSN), *parameśvarī* (LSN), *sarvabhūtahara, saṁvastarakara* (ŚSN), *bhīma, kālacakra, kalādhyakṣa* (SQN), *kāraṇātmā, prāṇeśvarī* (PSN), *īśa, viśvakara, bhīmaparākrama* (RSN).

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7. e.g.

khristum kanyāsutaṁ vande
mṛtam mṛtyuñjayaṁ param
raktīkṛtāsavaṁ dehīkṛtāpūpamanaśvaram

See also

śāntāya śāntahṛdayāya śamapriyāya
kāntāya kāntacaritāya kāmālayāya
nityāya nityavijayāya nirantarāya
martyāya martyatanujāya namo'stu nityam

8. e.g.

See the following Verse from *Annapūrṇāṣṭakam* of Śrīśaṅkarācārya.

nityānandakarī varābhayakarī
saundaryaratnākarī
nirdhūtākhiladoṣapāvanakarī
pratyakṣamāheśvarī
prāleyāñcalavaṁśapāvanakarī
kāśīpurādhīśvarī
bhikṣāṁ dehi kṛpāvalambanakarī
mātānnapūrṇeśvarī

All the nominatives are contrued with *tvam*, which is the understood agent of *dehi*. The beautiful poem of Śaṅkarācārya has the value of prayer but not as SN.

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Some names highlight the myth associated with that deity. e.g. *nārasiṁhavapuḥ, mādhava* (VSN), *dakṣayajñavināśinī* (LSN), *nīlakaṇṭha, umāpati* (SSN), *mūṣakavāhana, kumāraguru, īśānaputra* (GSN) *mahāmahiṣaghātinī* (PSN) *jaṭāyuprītivardhana* (RSN).

There are some more attributes which are found as attribute of the Brahman in Upaniṣadic literature. e.g. *anādinidhana, śāśvata, īśāna* (VSN), *nityā, niravadyā, nirākārā* etc. (LSN), *svayambhūta, ādi* (ŚSN), *anādi, akṣaya* (RSN), *ananta, aja, sarvasyādi* (SŪN), *guhyam, param, acintyā, kevalā, anantyā, anādinidhanā* (PSN).

In the older texts of SN, we hardly find complicated compounded expressions. On the contrary the later SN texts give longer compounded expressions. e.g. *pāṭalikusumapriyā, icchāśaktijñānaśakti-kriyāśaktisvarūpiṇī* (LSN) etc. *samedhitasamṛddhiśṛḥ, puṣkarasthasvarṇaghaṭī pūrṇaratnābhivarṣaka* (GSN), *bijāṅkurasamudbhūti* (PSN).

These various names of a deity are not linguistically regarded as the synonyms, however very few of them can be called synonyms to certain extent.[9] Almost all of them are the epithets. A point should be noted here that the metrical composition giving the list of synonyms is never regarded as a part of SN, or has no value of SN. Needless to say that aim and object behind the composition of SN is totally different than that behind the synonymy in lexicons. (The point will be explained in detail further).

2. The Oldest Available Accounts of SN

The *Rudrādhyāya* in *Vājasaneyī, saṁhitā* of the *Yajurveda* seems to be the rudiments for SN, where various names of the deity Rudra are continuously referred.[10] However the words are in dative and connected with *namaḥ*. In addition to that the deity is described with un-compounded expressions.

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9. Following passages from *svargavarga* from *Amarakośa*, give the list of synonyms, but it has hardly any value of any type of SN.

   viṣṇur nārāyaṇaḥ kṛṣṇo vaikuṇṭho viṣṭaraśravāḥ/dāmodaro hṛṣīkeśaḥ keśavo mādhavaḥ svabhūḥ etc. upto 22a.

   Synonyms of Śiva—

   śaṁbhurīśaḥ paśupatiḥ śivaḥ śūlī maheśvaraḥ īśvaraḥ śarva īśānaḥ śaṁkaraścandraśekharaḥ 31

10. e.g.

   namo bhavāya ca rudrāya ca
   namaḥ śarvāya ca paśupataye ca
   namo nīlagrīvāya ca śitikaṇṭhāya ca etc.

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The *Ṛgveda* (1.4.64) has caught the germ of the SN. It enumerates the different names of the different deities, but at the same time declares that these are just the names and not the different entities. It amounts to saying that Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, Mātariśvan, Garutman and Yama are different names of 'One Object.'[11]

The later Upaniṣads reproduce the same idea e.g. *tvaṁ brahmā, tvaṁ viṣṇus, tvam rudras, tvam indras* etc. (*śrīgaṇeśopaniṣat*)[12]

Then comes *Mahābhārata*, where we find famous *viṣṇusahasranāma* along with *Śivasahasranāma*. Also there is a litany of 108 names of the deity *Sūrya*.[13]

Next to MBh, Purāṇa literature gives such SN for different deities. The Tantra literature also contributes to it. In addition there are lots of SN compositions for different deities.

3 The Instinct behind the Early SN.

Before turning to the instinct behind the SN in MBh, it would be better to know the motives behind that type of description in Vedic literature.

The foresighted sage of Ṛg. 1.4 64 might have experienced that when an individual poet praises his favourite deity, he sees the deity as omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient, kind etc. When there are many individual descriptions resulting into similarity, the corollary is the deity is one and each one sees either of the aspects of that deity with his own eyes-in his own capacity and lables it accordingly. Thus we have different names for one deity accordingly.

The Vedic seer has understood the logic behind SN, which is *ekam, sat viprā bahudhā vadanti*. This implies that there are various ways of addressing of the Absolute One. This further means that these names and lables remain different on the verbal level, whereas the referent is one and the same.

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11. *indraṁ mitraṁ varuṇamagnimāhur*
atho divyaḥ sa suparṇo garatmān
ekaṁ sad viprā bahudhā vadanti
agniṁ yamaṁ mātariśvānamāhuḥ
Ṛg. 1.4.64

12. *Gaṇapatyupaniṣad* No. 92 from *Upaniṣatsaṅgraha*
Ed. by Jagadish Shastri, Published by Motilal Banarasi Dass, Delhi p. 570.

13. *Śivasahasranāma*-MBh. *Anuśāsanaparva, Adhyāya-17*
sūrya-aṣṭottaraśatanāma. MBh. *Vanaparva, Adhyāya-3*, *śloka* 15-28

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These implications are philosophized by Upaniṣadic literature. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* calls the *nāmadheya* (i.e. names) as mere alterations, modifications.[14] It means that these names or naming the objects diversely is *vikāra* and not *prakṛti*, i.e. natural one. The Upaniṣadic word *vācārambhaṇam* is very perfect description of these phenomenon.

The distinction among Agni, Yama, Mātariśvā is based on the sound, which itself is transitory. Thus it is the sound i.e. the word which goes on changing, needless to say that the meaning, the referent remains stable.

Through this the Upaniṣads have provided the firm philosophical base on which is standing the edifice of the SN literature.

4. The MBh and SN

It is the MBh, which gives first complete model of SN. It gives 3 SNs viz. VSN, ŚSN & SSN.

The MBh supports the Upaniṣadic principle viz. *ekam sat viprā bahudhā vadanti* by SN. By describing *Viṣṇu* with the names *śarvaḥ, śivaḥ, sthāṇuḥ* it tries to inculcate the idea of *ekam sat.*

Three of these SNs share large bulk of names among them. e.g. viz. SUN—*Dhātā, Sūciḥ, Vedakartā, Puruṣaḥ, Śāśvataḥ, Bhūtapatiḥ, Yogī, Sarvasyādiḥ, Viśvātmā, Viśvatomukhaḥ, Praśāntātmā.*

SSN—*Sarvātmā, Sarvabhāvanaḥ, Prabhuḥ, Bhutabhāvanaḥ, Yogī, Śāśvataḥ, Viśvarūpaḥ, Vedakaraḥ, Dhātā.*

Historically main cults of Hinduism were established at the time of Mbh. Through these cults the individual is given the freedom of worshipping the deity, (in fact a form of a deity) he likes and desires most. Thus we find the individual glorification of the deities like Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya etc. At the same time the compiler of the MBh. is very much aware of the probable conflicts among various cults. The glorification of one deity should not result into the subordination of the other. This SNs at the time of MBh served the purpose of checking this evil tendency, which later on proved to be beneficial for healthy growth of Hinduism.

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14. *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*—6.3.4-6.
yathā somya ekena mṛtpiṇḍena sarvaṁ
mṛṇmayaṁ vijñātam syāt
vācārambhaṇam vikāro nāmadheyaṁ mṛttiketyeva satyam
Tr. Oh. you best one. As all that is earthen is understood on understanding a lump of clay, that the appellations are just transitions based on the utterances, (otherwise) the clay itself is the ultimate reality.

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5. The Reasons behind the Mass-Scale Production of SN.

The SNs in MBh proved to be the prototype for the later SNs. These later SNs are composed on many major and minor deities in Hinduism. Some of them are found in different Purāṇas, rest are composed separately.

The reason behind this larger number of SN lies in idea of *Bhakti* and also in the concept of Kali-era.[15]

The *nāmajapa* gained immense importance in *Bhakti*-cult. The Purāṇas enhanced the importance of *nāmajapa* saying that it is the *nāmajapa* for which there is hardly any restrictions as far as place, time and manner are concerned, still it powerfully destroys all sins.[16] The overtone is quite clear, that it is more powerful than the Vedic rituals. The *nāmajapa* was available to them who in fact were not entitled for Vedic studies and practices.[17]

On the one hand there was unparalleled importance of *nāmajapa* and on the other hand there was an idea of *kali* era, which assigned the status of '*Dharma*' to *nāmajapa*. Both collectively inspired the composition of SN. Recitation of SN got the value of *nāmajapa*. The nominative words listed therein became significant in this regard. In addition to that one need not keep a count of the numbers of *nāmajapa*, while reciting SN. These things proved to be plus point to increase the practices of SN. It is *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, which first prescribed the recitation of *Rudrādhyāya*, at the time of *abhiṣeka* (i.e. consecrating

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15. *kaler doṣanidhe rājan asti hyeko mahān guṇaḥ*
kīrtanādeva kṛṣṇasya muktasaṅgaḥ paraṁ vrajet
Tr. Oh king there lies one great quality in kali, which otherwise a bundle of all evil things. One, just by uttering a name of a Kṛṣṇa gets free from all attachments and reaches the highest abode.

16. *aśraddhayāpi yannāmni kīrtite 'tha smṛte' pi vā*
vimuktaḥ pātakair martyo labhate padamavyayam
—Nārada Purāṇa 1.51.
Eventhough a name is utterred without faith, not only utterred but just recollected by a mortal one, he gets liberated from all the sins and reaches the eaternal state.

17. *vedamārgabahiṣthānāṁ janānām pāpakarmaṇām*
manaḥśuddhivihīnānāṁ harināmnaiva niṣkṛtiḥ
—Nārada Purāṇa 41.106
Tr. There is no expiation than uttering the name of Hari, for those sinful ones, who don't have purified minds and who are kept away from the Vedic path.

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the idol by continuous current of water).[18] Later on employing the *nāmāvalī* in *japa* (muttering the names of the deity), *homa* (offering oblations to the deity by addressing the same by the names), *arcana* (worship) and *abhiṣeka* (consecrating the idol by continuous current of water) forms an inevitable and very special aspect of classical Hinduism.

Another reason behind the composition of the SNs of many minor deities viz. *śarabha*, *bagalā*, *chinnamastā* etc. comes from the evolutionary theory of mythology. It is the typical Indian attitude to see the manifestation of *cit* everywhere inevitably bestowed the status of devinity to *śarabha*, *bagalā*, *gāyatrī*, *kālarātrī*. It is this attitude because of which some original epithets like *durgā*, *sumukhī*, *bhuvaneśvarī* became separate Goddesses. Once the devine qualities are added to these objects the process of their upgradation starts. Obviously the separate idol, temples, new additions in ritualistic details all these come into existance. The new deity is either identified to or is connected to one, from already existing pantheon. The concept of *avatāra* which is deeply rooted in our culture comes to help here. Thus *Mallārī* and *Viṭṭhala* comparatively new arrivals into an Indian pantheon were identified with Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively. A literary attempt of writing SN for such deity confirms its status in the Purāṇic pantheon. The process of uplevelling these deities almost reaches its peak with SN.

Apart from meeting the need of elevating the deities the SN served one more purpose in case of these cults. At the advance of time the character of these cults became stereotyped. Each cult had its own literary complex, which consists of *kavaca*, *kīlaka*, *argalā* (sometimes *hṛdaya*,), *rahasya*, *dhyāna*, *stotra* or *stava* and *nāmāvalī*. All these were further regarded as essential ones. This essentiality proved to be one more motive for some SNs. Therefore some of them are just mechanical rather than spontaneous.

6. Sanskrit Language and SN

It is the synthetic nature of the language which allows the compounding abundantly. Otherwise the descriptive expression would not have got the status of compounding. e.g. observe the name of *Lalitā* :– *Campakāśokapunnāgasaugandhikalasatkacā*. It is the Sanskrit only which regularly allows different and complicated compounding and therefore can easily bear with this SN.

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18. *athāto rudrasnānārcanavidhiṁ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*
athāsya mūrdhni kalaśadhārayā santatam abhiṣiñcati
namaste rudra manyave ityekādaśānuvākañ japet
—*Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*. 2.18 Ed. by R. Shama Shastri

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I think, the linguistic assumption of *śabdānityatva*—transitory nature of an utterence, proved to be contributory to the philosophic assumptions of the Upaniṣads. The utterred words are fragile, so much so that we can hardly imagine a group of such sounds. Because of this the word, though essential for interraction is regarded as insignificant as compared to the referent. The corollary of this assumption is—may it be the word '*a*' or '*b*', it matters least, what matters most is the omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient entity denoted by it.

7. Contribution of SN Towards Hinduism

In spite of various cults and sects the Hinduism remains far away from the disparity through the ages. It is the rich SN tradition which successfully tried to inculcate the idea of oneness among the different cults. When two deities of different cults can be called with same name, there hardly remains any reason for conflict and clashes between the two.

The process of accepting the new deity from the neighbouring community, identifying or associating it with the either of the old one and composing a SN for it,—all these supplied an " accomodative nature " to Hinduism. The firm belief based on philosophical assumption that irrespective of thousands of different words, the meaning remains unchanged—increased the tolerance in Hindu mind. When there are thousands of names for one god, there always remains a place to include one more viz *Allāh*. Thus the appeal that *Īśvara* and *Allāh* are the names of one and the same god became very logical and understandable for the Hindu mind, but not for the other side. Thus it is the SN tradition which helped to improve the inbuilt elasticity of Hinduism.

8.a Absence of SN in other Religion

The Muslim religion gives insistance on the word, and also assumes the one-to-one correspondance between the word Allāh and the meaning. This absolutely denies the very possibility of the *nāmāvalī*.

The Jews out of fear don't utter the full name of the God. i.e. only '*ya*' is utterred for 'ya-we.' The origin of *nāmāvali* basically lies in close relationship between the god and the devotee. Out of affection, love and friendship the devotee starts calling his desired deity with various names. On the contrary the fear doesn't allow one to do so. Needless to say that there remains hardly any possibility of *nāmāvalī* for the god of the Jews.

In New Testament, Jesus Christ is called by various names. These are the names dealing with his function, description and power. Due to the concept of *avatāra* and out of process of adopting new deities, those names remain exclusively for Jesus Christ only.

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But Christianity in Indian tradition adopted SN as the means to extol Jesus Christ. There are two SNs for Jesus Christ, and one for Maria, composed and published in this century. The model is SN, but the basis is biblical references. Even some words are taken from VSN as they are, e.g. *jivaḥ, bhūteśaḥ, nityaḥ, paraḥ* etc. The purpose and motives behind these SN, do not seem to be identical with those behind the Hindu SN. Therefore we find full grammatical sentences with the name in accusative, connected with *vande, bhaje* etc.

e.g. *khristum kanyāsutaṁ vande*
mṛtaṁ mṛtyuñjayaṁ param
raktīkṛtāsavaṁ dehī—
kṛtāpūpamanaśvaram

Also the datives of nouns are used to connect them with *namaḥ* e.g. *śāntāyā śāntahṛdayāya śamapriyāya maṛiyāya martyatanujāya namo, stunityam.*

8b. Buddhist and Jain Literature

In Buddhist literature there are some litanies of names e.g. the *Paramārtha-nāma-saṅgīti* and *Āryā-tārā-nāmāṣṭottaraśatastotra.*

According to Winternitz these *stotras* are composed in the true manner of the Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite texts. These consist of enumeration of names and laudatory epithets of the deity.

In Jain tradition there are some SNs, the oldest of which is *jīnasahasranāma* of Jinasena (9th century A.D.), *Arhannāmasahasrasamuccaya* by *Śrihemacandrācārya.* It is quite clear from the following verse that it is composed on the model of the VSN :

Śrīmānarhan jinaḥ svāmī svayambhūḥ
śambhurātmabhūḥ
svayaṁprabhuḥ prabhur bhoktā viśvabhūr—
apunarbhavaḥ

Even he has used some words or epithets as they are in VSN. e.g. *viśvātmā, sarvajñaḥ, viśvavid.*

A point, worth-noting here is that these Jain poets have deliberately selected Sanskrit for these compositions and not resorted to Prakrit.

The motive behind this seems to be the imitation. I think this Sanskrit SN tradition is one of those factors, which contributed a feeling of brotherhood among Hindus, Buddhists and Jains.

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In brief :

Apparently SN is literary tradition but intermingled with the ritualistic practices pertaining to different cults.

It has the firm foundation in Upaniṣadic philosophy.

It improved the in-built elasticity of Hinduism by facilitating the accommodation of many deities into it.

It has strong social implications. It functioned towards attuning different cults in Hinduism and thereby extirpating any possibilities of conflict between different cults.

Abbreviation

1. GSN — *Gaṇeśasahasranāma*
   (From *Gaṇeśapurāṇa—Upāsanākhaṇḍa. Adhyāya 46*)
2. LSN — *Lalitāsahasranāma*
3. MBh — *Mahābhārata*
4. PSN — *Pārvatīsahasranāma*
   (from *Kūrmapurāṇa—Pūrvabhāga, Adhyāya 11*, Verses 75-210)
5. RG — *Ṛgveda*
6. RSN — *Rāmasahasranāma*
   (from *Ānandarāmāyaṇa Kāṇḍa-3, Sarga-5*, Verses 16-54)
7. SN — *Sahasranāma*
8. SSN — *Śivasahasranāma*
9. SuN — *Sūrya-aṣṭottaraśatanāma*
10. VSN — *Viṣṇusahasranāma*

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THE IMPORTANCE OF ŚĀKTA MAHĀBHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA AND ITS INFLUENCE ON SUBSEQUENT LITERATURE

By

HANSA B. BHATT*

One of the main Purpose behind the composition of Purāṇas, Upapurāṇas etc. was to strengthen righteousness in the society. To a large extent they have been successful in carrying out their mission by narrating anecdotes illustrating the law of *karma*. This Epic Purāṇic literature has played a leading role in the preservation and growth of Hindu Civilization and Culture. It becomes quite clear from the critical study that the *Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa* has very well achieved this end by linking the different anecdotes with the greatness and adoration of the great goddess.

The *Mahābhāgavata Pu.* (=Mabhg.) has inherited a lot of useful material from some Purāṇas, Epics and Tantra works. Their comparative study reveals that from among the Purāṇas the *Śiva Purāṇa* has most deeply influenced the Mabhg. The influence of *Skanda Pu.* on Mabhg. ranks next to it. The *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, the *Kālikā*, the *Devībhāgavata*, the *Liṅga* and the *Vāyupurāṇa* have also exercised considerable influence on the Mabhg. in the descending order.

The Mabhg. utilizes the Upaniṣadic thoughts regarding the concept of the ultimate nature of Devī as well as the *Bhagavadgītā* and the epics. To some extent the Mabhg. utilizes the concepts of *Pratyabhijñā* Philosophy also. Under the influence of Śākta Tantras and Śākta Purāṇas like *Devī Bhāgavata*, *Kālikā-Purāṇa* etc. the Mabhg. refers to the *Mantra*s, *Tantra*s and *Dikṣā* etc. as also to fifty-one *Mahāpīṭhas* (or *Śaktipīṭhas*) formed by the falling of the limbs of Chāyāsatī among which Kāmākhyā is considered the best and is eulogized extravagantly. Moreover the Mabhg. refers to *Daśamahāvidyā*s as also to Devī's ordaining Lord Śiva as the exponent of the *Mantra*s, the *Yantras*, the procedure of adoration and sacrifice, the method of *Puraścaryā*, the eulogy of *Kavaca*, the rules of behaviour and daily practices for the aspirants which testifies to the prevalence of those practices in the society of those times. The Mabhg. has tried to strengthen and spread the said practices in its turn.

Even though the Mabhg. refers to *Vāmamārgīya Upāsanā* of Devī involving the utilization of *Pañcamakāra*s and *Māraṇoccāṭanādi Ṣaṭ Karma*, still the general emphasis is on the *Dakṣiṇamārgīya Upāsanā* of Devī. The Mabhg. has

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Journal of the Oriental Institute Vol. 45, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 1995, Issue, pp. 65-70.

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relegated *Vāmamārgīya Upāsanā* to a secondary position as clearly stated in 46.15^{cd}-18^{ab} and 22 and thus it has improved upon the method of Devī worship propounded in some other *Śākta* Purāṇas like *Devībhāgavata* and *Śākta* Tantras in course of time.

Even though the Mabhg. emphasizes the spread of Śakti cult its outlook is not at all narrow as generally observed in the case of some other sectarian Purāṇas. The Mabhg. poses a very liberal sectarian outlook in so far as it gives due respect to the other sects and the divinities of their worship.

Devī's guidance and participation in bringing about the end of Rāvaṇa were indispensable as shown in the Mabhg. The forced entering of Sītā in Laṅkā enraged Devī who immediately abandoned Laṅkā and stopped giving protection to Rāvaṇa. Sītā's confinement in the Aśoka grove by Rāvaṇa made him lose the merit of his penance and hastened his end. This point remains hidden in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* which is expressly stated in the Mabhg. (36.62^{cd}-66; 88) and explained in details in Appayya Dikṣita's *Rāmāyaṇasārasaṁgrahavivaraṇa*[1]. As rightly pointed out by Dr. Pushpendra Kumar, "ultimately Rāma was victorious over Rāvaṇa and was very much greateful to Śakti or goddess by whose grace he succeeded, in realizing this extraordinary aim which earned him fame, Kingdom and Sītā. In this way it depicts the overpowering influence of Śaktism over Rāma, a Vaiṣṇava deity."[2] Though in the other Purāṇas also we find that Rāma worshipped Durgā and then killed Rāvaṇa with her help, but the readers will be astonished to study in the Mabhg., that Kṛṣṇa also was an incarnation of Devī. Śiva once requested Devī to be the husband and himself to be the wife, and this desire, as *Purāṇa-Kāra* says, was fulfilled by the goddess in *Kṛṣṇāvatāra*. He Himself was born as Rādhā, being the beloved of Śrīkṛṣṇa.[3]

As noticed correctly by Dr. Pushpendrakumar, a study of the Mabhg. shows that the author of this work lived in a society in which the most powerful sects were those of the Śaivas, Śāktas and Vaiṣṇavas. The society was seriously influenced by Tantrism. Even in their conception of the forms of deities they were often guided by the *Tantras*. So, the author of the Mabhg. praised *Varṇāśrama-dharma* and prescribed the study of *Vedānta*. He did not decry Tantrism but tried to bring about a compromise between the two systems.[4]

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1 Vide Bhatt B. N., "An Analysis of the Rāmāyaṇasāra-Saṁgrahavivaraṇa of Appaya Dikṣita", *Journal of the O.I.*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1-2, Sept-Dec. 1982, Baroda, pp. 156-157.

2 Vide Introduction to the *Mahābhāgvatapurāṇa*, Eastern Book Linkers, Delhi-7, 1983, p. 32.

3 *Ibid.*; p. 31.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

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The chapters of the thesis by the present writer reveal that this Purāṇa supplies valuable social and religious data that are important for the study of the cultural history[5] of India. It throws welcome light on the condition of society in medieval India especially in its eastern region.

Moreover the Mabhg. Pu. throws light on different philosophical doctrines[6] evolved since ancient times. Even though this Purāṇa (actually Upapurāṇa) is lacking in the characteristic features of a Purāṇa normally considered to be five, still it has got some four[7] of the ten characteristic features noticed in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. As befits a *Śākta* Pu. the Mabhg. tries to show the relation of Śaktism with all the important personalities of Indian History and gives a *Śākta* colouring to some legends Epic as well as Purāṇic. Thus the Indra-Vṛtra episode as well as the Rāma episode, the Kṛṣṇa episode and the Kaurava-Pāṇḍava battle episode all the main and important events of Purāṇic Mythology[8] are related with the cult of Śakti. Thus the author tried to establish harmony between the *Śākta* sect with other sects of Hinduism viz. Vaiṣṇavism pertaining to Rāma and Śrīkṛṣṇa as well as Śaivism. The broad-mindedness and the absence of sectarian bias[9] on the part of the author of Mabhg. Pu. is specially noteworthy which are revealed by the thoughts of Viṣṇu establishing nondifference between Himself and Śiva. No antagonism is shown between the two great gods Śiva and Viṣṇu who are the two forms assumed by the same one great god. Not only the author's liberal sectarian outlook is noteworthy but his attempt at the synthesis of sects is also praiseworthy. In the wake of Devībhāgavata, Mabhg. (36.1-3; 9) refers to the promulgation of the adoration of Devī in *Śāradīyanavarātrī*. Thus it has contributed significantly in the spread of Devī's *Śāradīya Navarātrī Pujā*[10] especially in eastern India. The teaching of *Yogasāra* (*Adhyāya* 15) and the *Bhagavatīgītā* (*Adhyāyas* 16-18) constitute the didactic sections in the Mabhg. which throw welcome light on the nature of the self and instruct about the means of release along with relevant instructions spread over the whole Purāṇa. According to the opinion of Dr. Pushpendra Kumar *Bhakti*[11] is the main tenet of Śaktism in this Purāṇa.

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5. Vide doctoral thesis " *Śrī-Mahābhāgavata Purāṇam—A study* " by the present writer especially chapters X and XI of it.

6. Vide chapter VI of the said thesis.

7. Viz *Poṣaṇam, Īśānukathā, Mukti* and *Āśrayaḥ*, vide chapter II of the said thesis.

8. Vide Chapter VII of the said thesis.

9. Vide Chapter I of the said thesis.

10. Vide Chapter VIII of the said thesis.

11. Vide Introduction to the Mabhg. Pu. Eastern Book Linkers, Delhi-7, 1983, p. 30.

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Even though Tantricism has left its imprint on the Mabhg., the actual Tantric material is scanty in it. However Devī assigned equal status to *Āgama Śāstra* as well as Veda. This is a peculiar improvement in the outlook towards the *Āgama*s and their evaluation.

The anecdote of Sītā's birth from the womb of Mandodarī must have crept in the Mabhg.[12] under the influence of Tibbati, Khotāni (800-900 A.D.) *Rāmāyaṇa*s. Most probably under the influence of Tibbati *Rāmāyaṇa* as Tibet is in proximity of Kāmarūpa (Assam). The Mabhg. (1000-1100 A.D.) in its turn must be one of the works which must have disseminated the said anecdote in subsequent works e.g. the Kashmiri *Rāmāyaṇa* (end of 18th century A.D.)

The Mabhg. has given the iconography of the well known *Daśa Mahāvidyā*s of the *Tantra*s which are said to be worshipped according to the Tantric rites. This Purāṇa exhibits the middle stage of the development of some five primary *Mahā* (*Śakti*) *Pīṭha*s mentioned in the Kālikāpurāṇa to 51 *Mahā* (*Śakti*) *Pīṭha*s on account of the falling of the limbs of Chāyāsatī. *Devīgītā* mentions the number of *Śaktipīṭha*s to be 72. Whereas *Devībhāgavata* refers to 108 *Śaktipīṭha*s, specifying the *Pīṭhasthāna* and its presiding deity. *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* has given the details of the place of falling of Satī's limb, the specific limb fallen, the name of the female deity and the name of Her male counterpart as regards 51 *Pīṭha*s. Inspite of *Devībhāgavata*'s specifying more than double number of *Pīṭha*s than the Mabhg., its chronological precedence over the latter cannot be questioned on other grounds. The treatment of the subject matter in this Mabhg. pu. is very systematic excepting a few discrepencies shown in the chapter IX of the thesis referred to.

A cursory glance at the Mabhg. and the *Śivapurāṇa* reveals many striking resemblances due to indebtedness of the former to the latter, e.g. The Mabhg. 21.36-44[ab] alludes to the incident mentioned in the *Śivapurāṇa* (2.2. 11. 2-16, 20-31, 35-36, 39-40, 45) as regards Brahmā's eulogizing and requesting Devī to delude Lord Śiva in order that He might give up penance and might accept a wife. The indebtedness of the Mabhg. to the Śvp. is beyound doubt in this case. Similarly the incident of Dakṣa's practising penance to propitiate Devī, and Devī's appearance before him and giving him a boon to be born as his daughter is taken by the Mabhg. (4. 10-12, 16-17) from the Śvp. (2.2.12. 5-14, 18-21, 25-32). Dadhici's persuading Dakṣa in vain to invite Lord Śiva to the sacrifice as found in Mabhg. (7.51[cd]-75[ab]) is the elaboration of the same incident found in Śvp. (2.2.27, 26-35). There are a number of such similarities between the incidents pertaining to *Dakṣayajñavidhvaṁsa* as found in the Mabhg. and the Śvp., as also the incident of Nārada's foretelling about the would be husband of Pārvatī etc.[13]

12. Cf. 42.64.

13. Cf. Mabhg. 20. 18-20, 29-38.

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On the basis of the strong influence exercised by the Śvp. over the Mabhg. as detailed in Chapter IV of the thesis by the present writer, it can be easily surmised that the Śvp. must have been composed before the Mabhg. at least a century or two earlier. Thus the analysis of the indebtedness of the Mabhg. to the Śvp. has helped to fix the time of composition of the latter with certainty i.e. a century or two earlier to that of the Mabhg.

Above all one of the Upapurāṇas viz. *Bṛhaddharma* Pu. enlists the Mabhg. as a Mahāpurāṇa and has not only thoroughly utilized the language and contents[14] of the Mabhg. but it has plagiarized a large number of verses from the latter.[15] This emphasizes the importance of the Mabhg. which has preceded the *Bṛhaddharma*. The foregoing arguments reveal that the study of the Mabhg. Pu. enlightens us about the philosophical, mythological, social, religious and cultural state of affairs prevailing in North eastern India in mediaeval times.

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14. Some such instances of utilizing the language and contents of the Mabhg. by the Bṛhaddharma are as follows :

(1) Consulting of Devī for *Rāvaṇavadhopāya* Br. Adh. 18=Mabhg. Adh. 36 and 37 (up to st. 15)

(2) Hanumāna's seeing Devī in Her temple in Laṅkā Br. 20.12-20= Mabhg. 39.15^{cd}-22 and reminding Devī about Her decision to quit Laṅkā on his entering it Mabhg. 39.23-26 and Devī's accepting his request and quitting it 39.27-28 = Br. 20.21-62.

(3) Devī's creating the three Puruṣa's from three Guṇas and instructing them to practise penance by a voice from the air, their doing so, Devī's putting them to test and accepting Maheśa, firm in His trance as Her resort rejecting the other two Br. 31.6-34=Mabhg. 3.26^{cd}-32^{ab} and 36^{cd}-49.

(4) The origin of eleven Rudras who were put under the control of Dakṣa by Brahmā. Br. 32.35, 39-42=Mabhg. 5.33-40.

(5) Satī's introducing the ten *Mahāvidyās* to Śiva. Br. 36.128-130= Mabhg. 8.65-71^{ab}.

(6) Satī's ordaining that Śiva would proclaim the scriptures throwing light on Devī's worship. Br. 36.135-140=Mabhg. 8.74^{cd}-77.

(7) Śiva's keeping Satī's dead body on His head and dancing and Viṣṇu's cutting off Her limbs and their falling on the ground and turning into *Śakti* (*Mahā*) *Pīṭhas*. Br. 17-35=Mabhg. 11.51-60^{ab} and 76, 80.

15. e.g. (1) Br. 22.4-5^{ab}, 5^{cd}-6, 7, 8, 11^{ab} = Mabhg. 45.6-9, 11^{ab}.

(2) Satī's selecting Śiva as Her husband by putting the garland on the ground uttering '*Śivāya namaḥ*' is imitated by Br. 33.22-27^{ab} from Mabhg. 4.45-51.

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Thus it becomes clear that even though the Mabhg. is an Upapurāṇa its place in the Purāṇic literature is very significant not only on account of its being a recipient and preserver of Epic-Purāṇic anecdotes from a large number of works but also on account of its utilizing them successfully for spreading the Śakti cult to such an extent that it could get its name included in the list of the Mahāpurāṇas by atleast one another Upapurāṇa viz. the *Bṛhaddharma*.

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(3) The dialogue between Satī and Śiva regarding attending Dakṣa's sacrifice contains many verses taken verbatim from the Mabhg. e.g. Br. 36.24^{ab}, 25, 26, 28-30. Satī's arguments in Br. 36.34, 35=Mabhg. 8.38-42.

(4) Śiva's taunting Satī, Br. 36.63^{cd}=Mabhg. 8.43^{cd}.

(5) Before abandoning body Satī told Dakṣa about Her intention to quit Her body produced by him immediately. Br. 36.68=Mabhg. 9.81. Many such verbatim similarities can be traced between the two purāṇās exhibiting imitation on the part of the *Bṛhaddharma* from the Mabhg.

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NURJAHAN COINS

By

APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY*

We have already noted[1] that among the Mughal Coins kept in the British Museum, there are twenty types of gold coins issued by Jahangir and among them only one type was issued with the name of Nurjahan inscribed on it. The inscription runs as follows :—

Jahangir and Nurjahan

By order of Shah Jahangir a hundred beauties gained Gold by the name of Nurjahan Padishah Begum.[2]

(*Bahukm* { *zahukm* } *e Shah Jahangir aft sad zevar zanam Nurjahan Padishah Begum*)

And this variety of gold coins with the name of Nurjahan was the last and twentieth one. It was issued in the 22nd year of Jahangir's reign.[3] It means this type of gold coins with Nurjahan's name was issued in the last year of the reign of Jahangir. Because Jahangir was proclaimed emperor on the 21st October, 1605, and he died on the 28th October, 1627.[4]

The silver coins of Jahangir number 191. Out of all these we find the name of Nurjahan only in two silver coins. On a third which is the smallest of Jahangir's silver coins, possibly the name of Nurjahan was there, but it is in a bad condition.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 45, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 1995 Issue, pp. 71-74.

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1 Chattopadhyay, Aparna, Nurjahan—" Some Analysis of Her Influence on Jahangir ", *S V. University Oriental Journal*, Golden Jubilee Vol. XXXII-XXXIV, p. 192; *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, M. S. University of Baroda, Vol. 43, No. 1-2, Sept.-Dec. 1993, p. 28.

2 Lane Poole, S., *The History of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan*, Oriental Pub. Delhi 6, p. cll.

3 *Ibid* ,

4 Ishwariprasad, *A Short History of the Muslim Rule in India*, published by the Indian Press (Publications) Private Ltd., Allahabad, Revised Edition, pp. 310, 331.

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As regards the two silver coins bearing the name of Nurjahan one (No. 168) was issued in Lahore in the nineteenth year of the reign of Jahangir (1034 H). The couplet on it is the same as it is on the gold coin.[5] (Ba hukm e Jahangir..).

The other variety of the silver coin (No. 171) with the name of Nurjahan with the couplet as on the silver coin no. 168, was issued in Ahmedabad in the 22nd regnal year (1037 H).[6] The date 1037 H on this variety means the silver coins of this variety were issued towards the very end of the 22nd regnal year. Ans so it means that this variety of silver coins were issued towards the very end of Jahangir's reign.

As regards the smallest silver coin of Jahangir, the obverse seems to read Nurjahan. The coin is in a bad condition.[7]

The number of the copper coins of Jahangir is twenty two. In none of these copper coins of Jahangir, the name of Nurjahan is found.[8]

So we find that the first coin of Jahangir with the name of Nurjahan was a silver coin and it was issued in the nineteenth year of his reign. It mean it was issued more than twelve years after his marriage with Nurjahan, and just three years before his death. Another silver coin with Nurjahan's name and the gold coin with her name were issued in the last year of Jahangir's reign, the year of his death.

The fact that the coins with the name of Nurjahan were issued towards the end of the reign of Jahangir, leads to the natural inference that Nurjahan managed to get those coins with her name, issued. The purpose behind it is simple to understand. It is known that Nurjahan had a motive to become the de facto ruler after the demise of Jahangir. With this motive she had planned and tried to get her son-in-law prince Shahariyar declared as heir-apparent by Jahangir. Shahariyar was well-known as a simpleton and his lack of brain had earned for him the contemptuous sobriquet of ' Na-shudani ' or ' Good-for-nothing '.[9]

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5 Rodgers, C. J., *Coins of the Mughal Emperors of India*, published by S. B. Singh for Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1972 p. 153.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*, p. 157.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 157-160.

9 Smith, V. A., *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford University Press, Eighth Impression, 1990, p. 376.

Ishwariprasad, *A Short History of the Muslim Rule in India*, The Indian Press (Publications) Private Ltd., Allahabad, Revised Edition, p. 320.

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Since the dates of the coins with the name of Nurjahan show that those were issued during the last three years of Jahangir's reign, we cannot accept fully the observation of an author that Mu'tamid Khan's plain account is both correct and reliable.[10] The said author quotes the words of Mu'tamid Khan which are the culminating lines of his Iqbalnama. Mu'tamid Khan writes here, in tracing the history of Nurjahan from her first marriage and describing her gradual ascendency to power since her marriage with Jahangir that " .....coins were struck in her name....." and that Jahangir repeatedly said that he had bestowed the sovereignty on Nurjahan Begum and that he required nothing beyond a sir of wine and half a sir of meat.[11]

Mu'tamid Khan in summarising Nurjahan's career has certainly conveyed some confusing ideas. We have already seen that if half a sir of meat and one sir of wine were the only requirement of Jahangir it was not written by Jahangir in that part of his Memoirs which he wrote himself. That he needed just a sir of wine and half a sir of meat of that he had bestowed the sovereignty on Nurjahan Begum, were additions made by Mu'tamid Khan and repeated by M. Hadi. Here we also find that Nurjahan's name was also inscribed upon the coin.[12]

Now we see that coins with Nurjahan's name were of very late in date. Though Stanley Lane Poole has himself pointed out that Jahangir's gold coin with the name of Nurjahan, was issued in the last year of his reign, Lane Poole has not taken notice of this fact in discussing the influence of Nurjahan on Jahangir. Most of the historians of Jahangir have accepted Mu'tamid Khan's account as fully correct and Mu'tamid khan's words are quoted by them. But we find that coins with Nurjahan's name were struck during the last three years of Jahangir's reign and if Jahangir bestowed the sovereignty on Nurjahan and needed only a plate of meat and a few cups of wine, these facts can be true only to the closing years of his reign.

The point which is also worth-noting in connection with Nurjahan's influence on Jahangir that she could not succeed in getting her son-in-law Shahariyar nominated by Jahangir as his heir for the throne.

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10 Abdur Rashid, *The Mughal Empire*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, General Editor, R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1984, The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. VII, pp. 185, 186, 196.

11 Memoirs of Jahangir, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Sushil Gupta (India) Pvt. Ltd., Third Edition, Calcutta, pp. 162-164.

12 Chattopadhyay, Aparna, " Nurjahan—Some Analysis of Her Influence on Jahangir ", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, M. S. University of Baroda, Vol. 43, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec. 1993, pp. 27-35.

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પ્રાચીન ગુર્જર ગ્રન્થમાલા

		રૂા. પૈ.
૧	**પ્રાચીન ફાગુ-સંગ્રહ**—સંપાદક : ડૉ. ભોગીલાલ જ. સાંડેસરા અને ડૉ. સોમાભાઈ પારેખ; દેવનાગરી ટાઈપ	૧૦=૫૦
	વિદ્યાર્થી આવૃત્તિ, ગુજરાતી ટાઈપ	૬=૫૦
૨	**વર્ણક-સમુચ્ચય, ભાગ ૧—મૂલ પાઠ**—સં. : ડૉ. ભો. જ. સાંડેસરા	૯=૫૦
૩	**ભાલણકૃત નલાખ્યાન** (ત્રીજી આવૃત્તિ)—સં. : પ્રો. કે. કા. શાસ્ત્રી	૧૧=૫૦
૪	**ઉદયભાનુકૃતવિક્રમચરિત્રરાસ**—સંપાદક : સ્વ. પ્રો. બ. ક. ઠાકોર	૨=૫૦
૫	**ભાલણ : એક અધ્યયન**—લેખક : પ્રો. કે. કા. શાસ્ત્રી (૧૯૭૧)	૮=૦૦
૬	**વર્ણક-સમુચ્ચય, ભાગ ૨**—સાંસ્કૃતિક અધ્યયન અને શબ્દસૂચિઓ. કર્તા : ડૉ. ભોગીલાલ જ. સાંડેસરા અને ડૉ. રમણલાલ ના. મહેતા	૧૦=૫૦
૭	**પંચાખ્યાન બાલાવબોધ, ભાગ ૧**—સંપાદક : ડૉ. ભોગીલાલ જ. સાંડેસરા અને ડૉ. સોમાભાઈ પારેખ	૨૪=૦૦
૮	**સિંહાસનબત્રીસી**—સં. ડૉ. રણજિત મો. પટેલ	૧૫=૫૦
૯	**હમ્મીરપ્રબન્ધ**—સં. : ડૉ. ભો. જ. સાંડેસરા અને ડૉ. સો. પારેખ	૬=૦૦
૧૦	**પંચદંડની વાર્તા**—સં. ડૉ. સોમાભાઈ ધૂ. પારેખ (૧૯૭૪)	૩૧=૦૦
૧૧	**વાગ્ભટાલંકાર બાલાવબોધ**—સં. ડૉ. ભોગીલાલ જ. સાંડેસરા	૧૨=૦૦

સ્વ. પ્રૉ. બ. ક. ઠાકોર ગ્રન્થમાળા

૧	વિવિધ વ્યાખ્યાનો ગુચ્છ ૧	૨=૫૦
૨	,, ,, ,, ૨	૨=૫૦
૩	,, ,, ,, ૩	૬=૫૦
૪	નિરુત્તમા	૨=૫૦
૫	વિક્રમોર્વશી—(અનુવાદ : મનનિકા સહિત)	૨=૫૦
૬	પ્રવેશકો, ગુચ્છ પહેલો	૪=૫૦
૭	પ્રવેશકો, ગુચ્છ બીજો	૩=૦૦
૮	અંબડ વિદ્યાધર રાસ	૪=૦૦
૯	મ્હારાં સૉનેટ (બીજી આવૃત્તિ : બીજું પુનર્મુદ્રણ)	૪=૦૦
૧૦	આપણી કવિતાસમૃદ્ધિ (બીજી આવૃત્તિ; છઠ્ઠું પુનર્મુદ્રણ)	૪=૦૦
૧૧	નવીન કવિતા વિષે વ્યાખ્યાનો (પ્રથમ આવૃત્તિ; પહેલું પુનર્મુદ્રણ)	૪=૦૦
૧૨	પ્રો. બ. ક. ઠાકોર ડાયરી, ભાગ ૧—સંપાદક : ડૉ. હર્ષદ મ. ત્રિવેદી	૨=૦૦
૧૩	પ્રો. બ. ક. ઠાકોર અધ્યયનગ્રન્થ	૧૫=૫૦
૧૪	પ્રો. બ. ક. ઠાકોરની ડાયરી, ભાગ ૨—સંપાદક : ડૉ. હર્ષદ ત્રિવેદી	૬=૭૫
૧૫	વિવેચક—પ્રો. બલવન્તરાય ઠાકોર	૨૫=૦૦

પ્રાપ્તિસ્થાન : **યુનિવર્સિટી પુસ્તકવેચાણ વિભાગ,**
જનરલ એજ્યુકેશન સેન્ટર, પ્રતાપગંજ, વડોદરા-૩૯૦ ૦૦૨.

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THE PREHISTORY OF UPPER DHADHAR VALLEY: A PRELIMINARY STUDY

By

SAJI THOMAS*

There are very few regions in the Indian subcontinent that can peer with the rich prehistoric cultural traditions of Gujarat. The prolific archaeological activities in the valleys of Sabarmati, Mahi and Narmada have been studied right from the time of Robert Brucefoote, about one hundred and fifty years ago. During the mid-forties, Sankalia[1] studied the Pleistocene stratigraphy and associated stoneage industries in western India. Zeuner,[2] in 1950, worked on the palaeoenvironment of Mahi, Sabarmati and Narmada valleys and brought to light the evidence of buried soils. In 1952, Subbarao[3] surveyed the Mesolithic sites of central Gujarat. Later Wainwright,[4] in 1964, undertook a detailed study of buried soils in lower Narmada valley and Mehta[5] explored the prehistoric sites at Champaner in 1969-70.

The study on the Palaeolithic cultures of Gujarat mainland by Allchin, Goudie and Hegde[6] in 1970 indicated the proximity of primary sites near Pavagadh. Later a considerable quantity of Upper Palaeolithic tools at Visadi

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 45, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 1995 Issue, pp. 75-84.

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2. Zeuner, F. E. *Stone Age and Pleistocene Chronology in Gujarat.* Deccan College Monograph Series 6. Poona 1950.

3. Subbarao, B. Archaeological Explorations in the Mahi valley. *Journal of Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda.* Vol. 1. No. 1. pp. 33-72 1952.

4. Wainwright, G. J. *The Pleistocene Deposits of the Lower Narmada River.* M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda 1964.

5. Mehta, R. N. *Prehistoric Champaner,* Baroda 1977.

6. Allchin, B. and A. Goudie. Dunes, Aridity and Early Man in Gujarat, Western India. *Man.* 6 (2) pp. 248-65. 1997.

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was brought to light by this team.[7] Further work in the adjoining areas by Sonawane[8] in late seventies and Ajithprasad[9] in mid-eighties brought to light primary localities of Acheulean, Middle Palaeolithic and Mesolithic cultures.

The Dhadhar river owes its origin from the hills northwest of Pavagadh in the Panchmahals District of Gujarat. It flows southwesterly passing through Vadodara and Bharuch Districts and merges into the Gulf of Cambay as an independent river with a channel length of 222.67 km. The Dhadhar valley and the adjoining areas fall under the semi-arid bioclimatic zone. The climate of this region is described as tropical accentuated. The hilly terrain and areas close to the escarpment are covered with thick vegetation and form the forested zone of 'dry mixed deciduous' type. The Dhadhar valley abounding in all basic resources and the neighborhood yielding evidences of prehistoric occupation posed a high potential for prehistoric study which was hitherto not realized.

The systematic partial exploration carried in the upper reaches of Dhadhar river and its few tributaries yielded promising evidence of the occupation of the region by the prehistoric communities (Fig. 1).

The Acheulean Period:

The Acheulean sites were located within the revenue limits of the villages of Shivrajpur, Ranbhet, Richbar, Bapotiya and Bhediyapura, all associated with the gravel deposits of fluviatile origin along the course of the river, thereby forming secondary localities. A number of low river sections were studied and it is noteworthy to mention that the implementiferous gravel layer at the depth of 0.75-0.85 m. at Richbar which forms the second gravel layer yielded few scrapers and flakes. The composite sequence of Dhadhar valley is discussed below: (Fig. 2). The lowermost layer is a basalt bedrock which is about 1.7 m. high. The oldest deposit identified in this region is 2 m. thick semi-consolidated gravel deposit directly resting over the basal bedrock. Over it is a 4 m. layer of silt which at the top is weathered to form the soil.

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9. Ajithprasad, P. *Pleistocene Stratigraphy and Prehistoric Archaeology of the Orsang Valley*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. The Department of Archaeology and Ancient History. M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda 1988.

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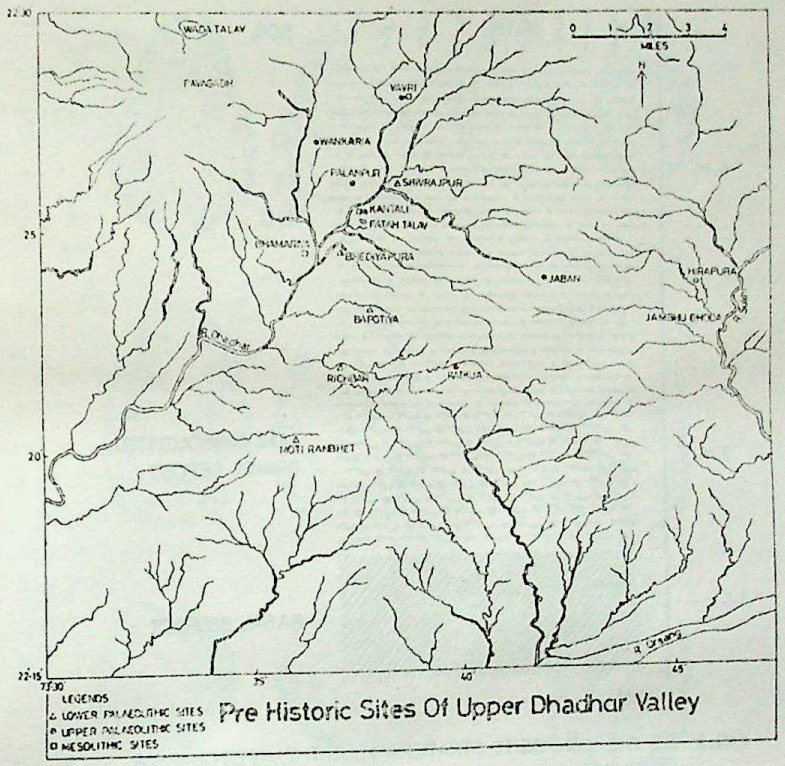

Figure—1 : The map showing the prehistoric sites in the Upper Dhadhar valley.

The Acheulean assemblage from the valley consist of handaxes, ovates, scrapers, knives alongwith flakes and cores (Figs. 3, 4). It is characterized by the preponderence of scrapers over handaxes. Knives, polyhedrons cleavers, and chopping tools are scantly in representation. The relatively high percentage of flakes would indicate their use after little or no retouch. The knowledge of the assemblage of the valley enables one to recognize two broad phases of development within the Acheulean. Technically, the toolkit represents the lower Acheulean with its chopping tools, handaxes and cleavers and the refined Upper Acheulean phase by the occurrence of advanced forms of handaxes, viz; ovates and triangular forms respectively.

In view of the absence of stratigraphic precedence of the chopper-chopping tool industry to that of the handaxe-cleaver industry, and the overwhelming evidence of the co-occurrences of the two cultures had to be given up.[10] Therefore, the occurrence of the chopping tools in the lithic assemblage in the valley may indicate that they were made and utilized alongwith the Upper

10. Sankalia, H. D. 1974. *op. cit.*

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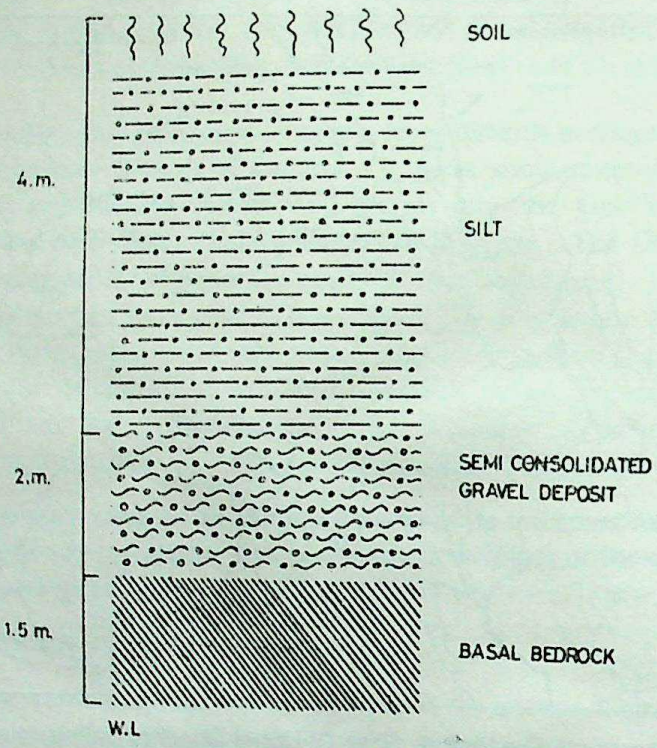

FIG. 2 : THE COMPOSITE STRATIGRAPHY IN THE UPPER DHADHAR VALLEY.

Acheulean artefacts. The Acheulean tools were chiefly made of quartzite, although quartz and rhyolite are occasionally used. These raw materials occur bountifully as outcrops of various geological periods and form one of the earliest sedimentary deposits of quaternary formations in the region. The geology of the area includes quartzite conglomerate of Pre-Cambrian origin and it occurs here as rocky ridges of interfluves of the plateau and as inselbergs.

The Upper Palaeolithic culture:

The Upper Palaeolithic culture in Gujarat has been under heavy dispute among the scholars in this field. The basic problem in understanding the Upper Palaeolithic culture in Gujarat is the mere absence of any clear stratified horizon bearing Upper Palaeolithic tools and also with that of the raw material quartz which has a very intractable nature of flaking. Thus far, the present researches have brought to light only a few sites/occurrences belonging to this phase of prehistory of Gujarat and Visadi is the only established site.[11] The Indian prehistorians are even divided in their opinion on the validity of its true Upper Palaeolithic character. Hence, the Upper Palaeolithic in Gujarat at this stage is quite enigmatic.

11. Allchin, B., A. Goudie and K. T. M. Hegde, 1978, *op. cit.*

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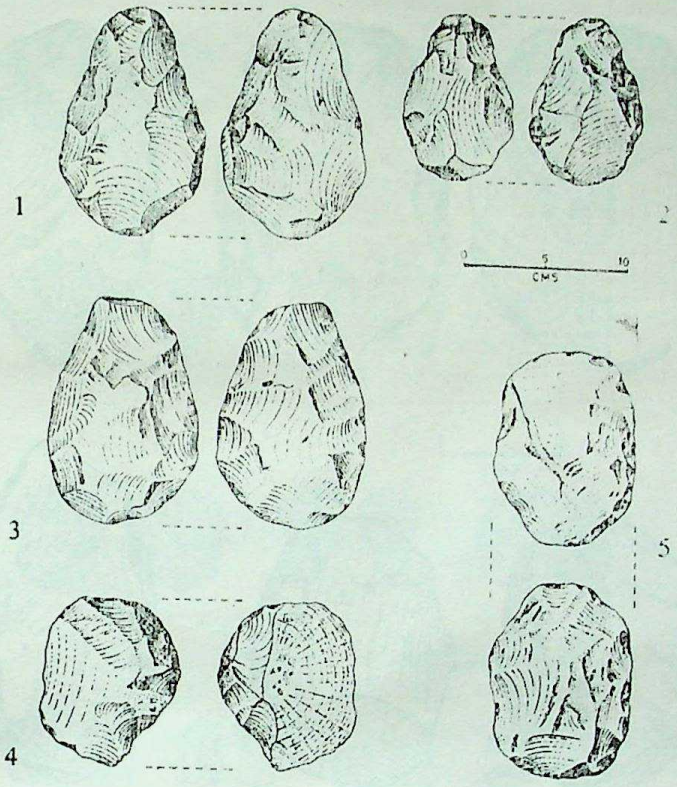

Figure—3: The Acheulean Artefacts: 1, 2, 3 Handaxes; 4 Scraper; 5 Ovate.

Few tools belonging to the Upper Palaeolithic industry were recovered during the exploration from three sites, viz; Bhamariya, Kantali and Vavri. They were found in assortment with the microliths of the Mesolithic period. Five burins, though recovered from these sites, based on the preliminary morphometric study were classed as belonging to Mesolithic period. The collection, however, is very little and inadequate to establish a full fledge Upper Palaeolithic industry. Moreover, its mixed occurrence with the Mesolithic tools narrow down further the possibility of acknowledging the site as classical Upper Palaeolithic. Nevertheless, the massive, thick, broad and parallel sided blades, scrapers, cores and flakes (Fig. 5) reveal its unsuitability to be used as composite tools and can categorically be differentiated from the microliths of the Mesolithic period and hence cannot be overlooked. The technique of striking blades and flakes is by direct percussion.

The study postulates two possibilities for the mixed occurrence of Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic artefacts which are yet to be tested by further research.

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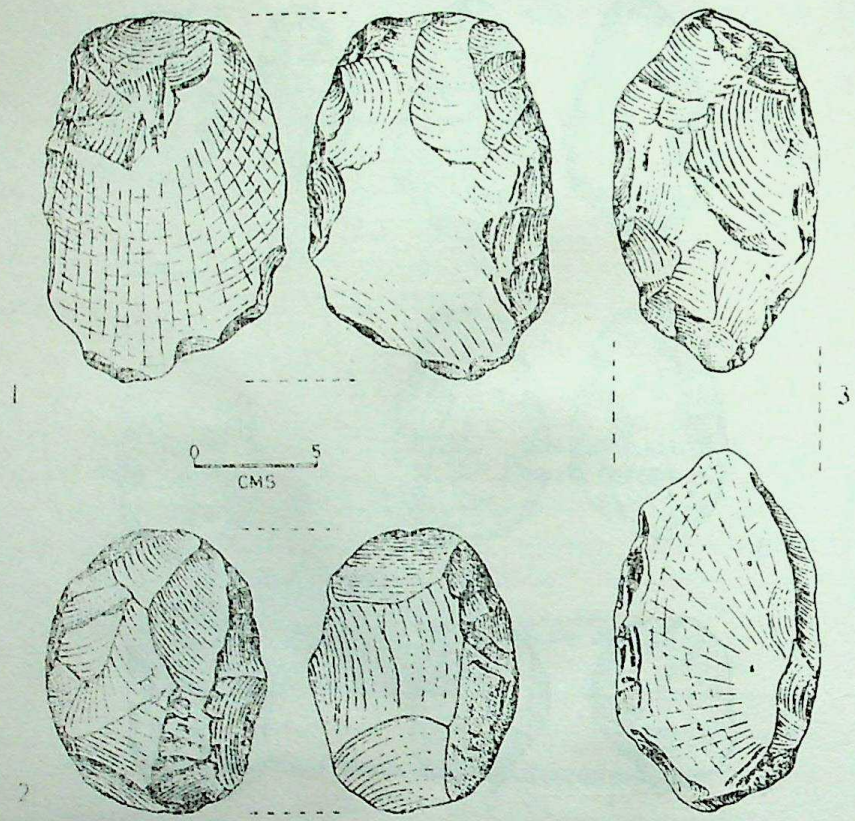

Figure—4: The Acheulean Artefacts: 1 Cleaver; 2 Chopping tool; 3 Knife.

(a) There were two separate independent traditions of Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic cultures respectively. The recent deep agricultural activities would have mixed the deposits of both the cultures.

(b) The industry is associated with the late phase of Upper Palaeolithic and/or an early phase of Mesolithie culture. The microliths constitute a very low percentage of geometric tools thereby denoting an early Mesolithic phase. The association of Upper Palaeolithic tools with such non-geometric tools suggest a transitional phase between the two cultures.

The Mesolithic Industry

The Dhadhar valley is rich in evidence as far as Mesolithic industries are concerned. Of the three sites, viz; Bhamariya, Vavri and Kantali, the first two are located in the alluvial plains while Kantali is on the slope of an isolated cliff on the banks of Fatahtalav, a natural pond. The sites are generally small and the area of distribution varies from 100-1000 sq.m. The original habitational

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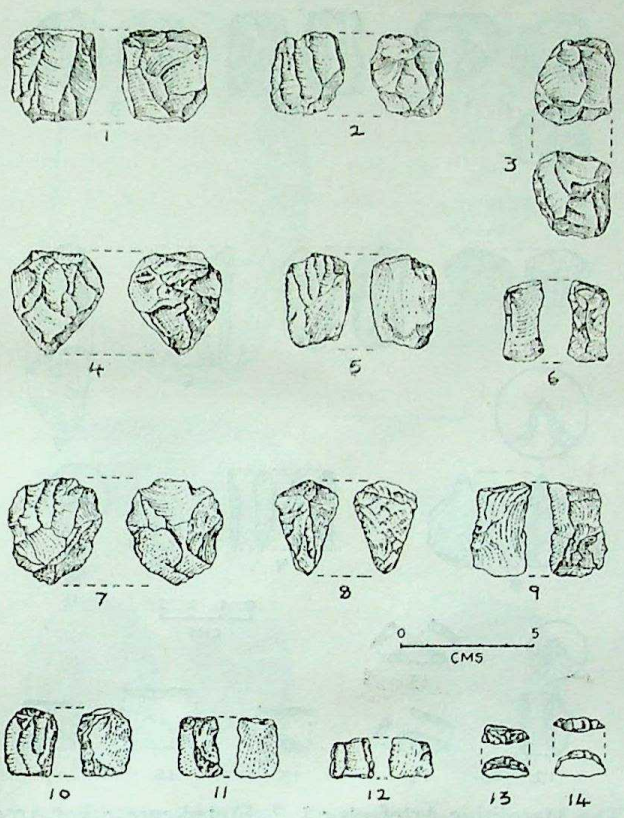

Figure—5: The Upper Palaeolithic Artefacts: 1, 2 Fluted cores; 3, 4 Amorphous cores; 5, 6, 7, 8 Scrapers; 9, 10, 11, 12 Blades 13, 14 Lunates.

area would have been still smaller. The post depositional disturbances like flood, erosion, agricultural activities and constant movement of man and animals may account for the large spread of the artefacts from the original habitational area. All the three sites were deranged by the present agricultural activities and hence only a random sampling was possible. Despite the trouble caused by the standing crops for systematic exploration, it is not rather difficult to assess the potential of the artefact spread at the site.

Of the Mesolithic collections from the valley, 51.9% comprise of diagnostic tools which include composite points, blades, barbs, burins, borers and scrapers. The remaining 48.1% include different types of cores and blades and flakes (Fig. 6). The presence of fluted cores suggest the utilization of prepared core technique. The presence of hammer stones (Fig. 7) suggest that they were used for producing blades by indirect percussion method. The high percentage of quartz tools reveal that its intractable nature of flaking was never a decisive factor in choosing the raw material for tool manufacture.

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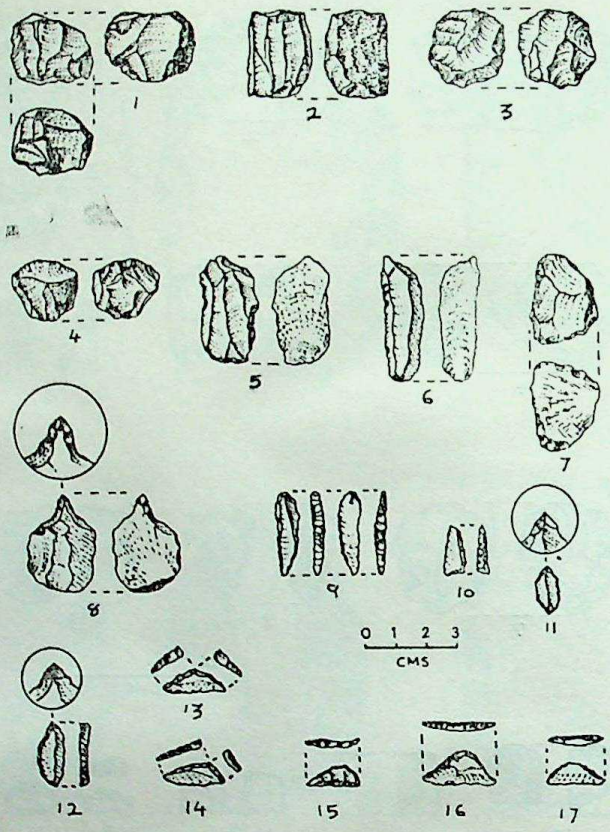

Figure—6: The Mesolithic Artefacts : 1, 2, Fluted cores; 3, 4 Amorphous cores; 5, 6, 7 Scrapers; 8 Borer; 9 Point; 10 Backed blade; 11, 12 Burins; 13, 14 Triangles; 15, 16, 17 Lunates.

The microliths are made of fine grained siliceous material like quartz, chalcedony, agate and chert. They occur as quartz veins and other outcrops of the Deccan Trap and Infra-Trappean formations in the region. The chalcedony and agate are procured as nodules of intrusive secretions of silica into amygdaloid cavities of Deccan Trap.

Chronology:

None of the sites in the valley have been excavated or radiometrically dated. Hence, the author is forced to correlate them on the basis of the geological context of occurrence and morphological comparison of various artefacts with other independently dated horizons close to the valley.

The stratigraphic occurrence of Acheulean artefacts in the pebbly gravel deposits of Dhadhar and its tributaries can be compared with that of Sabarmati,[12]

12. Sankalia, H. D. 1946, *op. cit.*

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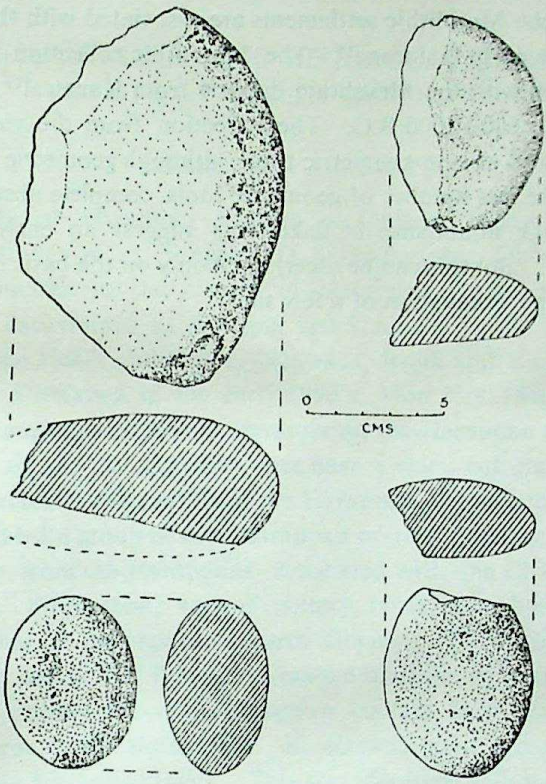

Figure—7: The Mesolithic Artefacts: Hammer stones.

Mahi,[13] Narmada,[14] and Orsang.[15] In all these, both lower and upper Acheulean artefacts occur together as in the case of Dhadhar valley. On the basis of the geomorphological and sedimentological considerations, the above gravel deposit has been dated to late Middle Pleistocene to early Upper Pleistocene.[16]

In Gujarat, Upper Palaeolithic sites were first reported in 1971.[17] The explorers argue that Visadi, in the vicinity of Dhadhar valley, was formed in an arid climate while the dune was in active formation during the late Pleistocene period.

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13. Subbarao B. *op. cit.* 1952,
14. Sankalia. H. D. *op. cit.* 1946,
15. Ajithprasad, P. *op. cit.* 1988.
16. Rajaguru, S. N. On the Problem of Acheulean Chronology in Western and Southern India. In Misra, V. N. and P. Bellwood (eds.). *Recent Advances in Indo-Pacific Prehistory: Proceedings of the International Symposium* held at Poona. 1978.
17. Allchin, B. and A. Goudie, *op. cit.* 1971.

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The general study of the explored and excavated Mesolithic sites in Central Gujarat show that the Mesolithic settlements are associated with the stabilization of sand dunes in the early Holocene[18]. The Mesolithic collection from Dhadhar valley compares well with the Mesolithic deposit from Kanewal[19] and Tarsang[20] which dates back to 5000-2000 B.C. The collection from the valley consist of both geometric as well as non-geometric tools, although geometric ones are fairly less in number. The less number of geometric tools, complete absence of pottery and relatively by high abundance of flake-tools suggest an early beginning of Mesolithic industry. But this can be ascertained only on the basis of stratigraphic confirmation through excavation of a few sites.

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18. Momin, K. N. Mesolithic Settlements in Central Gujarat. In *Prachya Pratibha*. Vol. IX-X. pp. 91-97. 1980.

19. Mehta, R. N. *Excavations at Kanewal*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Archaeological Series No. XVII. Department of Archaeology and Ancient History. M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda. 1980.

20. Sonawane, V. H. The Microlithic Industry at Tarsang, Gujarat. In *Man and Environment*. Indian Society for Prehistoric and Quaternary Studies, Poona. 1983. pp. 31-38

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LOTESHWAR: A CHALCOLITHIC REGIONAL CERAMIC TRADITION SITE OF NORTH GUJARAT

By

BHAMINI A. MAHIDA*

The study of Harappan Culture in Gujarat began in the 1930's by M. S. Vats's excavation at Rangpur[1] in Surendranagar District. A few other important landmarks in the history of Harappan studies in this region are the subsequent excavations at Rangpur and Somnath in the 1980's, Lothal and Surkotada in the 1960's and 1970's, Nagwada, Rojdi and Kuntasi in the 1980's Loteshwar and Dholavira in the early 1990's, Moti Pipli, Santhali etc. A cursory glance through the published literature on the Harappan Culture in Gujarat indicates that, almost all excavated sites have yielded cultural relics, predominantly pottery, which is different from the Harappan. Excavation at Nagwada and Loteshwar revealed a group of non-Harappan pottery types having characteristic features distinct from the Harappans, associated with the Chalcolithic culture of north Gujarat. Since then, similar pottery types have been found at many Chalcolithic sites in the region of north Gujarat. To distinguish it from the Harappans, it is called 'the Regional Ceramic tradition of north Gujarat'. This non-Harappan pottery found in Harappan context vary both in quantity and quality with those of the Harappans. In north Gujarat it is associated with the Mature and Late Harappan relics. This was identified following the excavations at Nagwada,[2] where the regional pottery is the predominant type. The excavations at Nagwada led the scholars to conceptualize a regional Chalcolithic tradition in north Gujarat. Thus, further excavation was carried out at Loteshwar to know the extent and nature of this regional Chalcolithic tradition. Here, an attempt has been made to study the ceramic assemblage found from Loteshwar.

Objectives of the study:

(1) To identify the distinctive features and types of the Regional ceramic tradition.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 45, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 1995 Issue, pp. 85-92.

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1 Vats, M. S. Trial Excavations at Rangpur, Limdi State, Kathiawar. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1934-35. pp. 34-38.

2 Hegde, K. T. M., V. H. Sonawane, D. R. Shah, K. K. Bhan, P. Ajithprasad, K. Krishnan and S. Pratapchandran, Excavation at Nagwada: A preliminary Report. *Man and Environment* Vol. XII-1988.

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(2) To assess the cultural affiliation and chronological context of Regional and Harappan pottery.

Environmental and archaeological background:

Gujarat state can be divided into three regions viz. Kutch, Saurashtra and the mainland of Gujarat. The narrow corridor which connects the mainland of Gujarat with Kutch is known as north Gujarat. The western part of north Gujarat includes, Banaskantha, Surrendranagar, Mehsana and Ahmedabad Districts. It is drained by the rivers Banas, Saraswati, Rupen, Sabarmati and their tributaries. Rupen owes its origin from the western side of the Taranga hill in the Kheralu Taluka of Mehsana District and disappears in the Little Rann of Kutch near Visnagar. The main tributaries of river Rupen are Pushpavati and Khari.

More than one hundred Chalcolithic sites affiliated to different cultural phases of Harappan tradition have been discovered in the western part of north Gujarat. This is the result of continuous explorations carried out by the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, M. S. University of Baroda. Since 1979, this region has been subjected to systematic explorations conducted by K. T. M. Hegde of Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, M. S. University of Baroda, together with C. Margabhandu of Archaeological Survey of India. Further explorations were carried out by V. S. Parekh and his team. Of the explored sites, settlements at Ratanpura (1985), Nagwada (1986-90), Loteshwar (1991), Moti Pipli (1993), Datrana and Santhali (1994) were excavated.

North Gujarat sites:

The artefact assemblages from the explored sites in north Gujarat show a bewildering array of pottery. Pottery being the most abundant artefact of these sites, their chronology and cultural affiliation is based on relative abundance of pottery " type-fossils " belonging to different cultural periods. With the help of the explorations carried out in this area many sites were found with different types of pottery, belonging to the regional ceramic tradition which has, recently, been named as ' Anarta pottery tradition '[3] based on the traditional name of north Gujarat, found in historical documents. This pottery has been reported from a number of sites like Nagwada, Loteshwar, Mujpur, Kukrana Dhama, Susiya, Moti Pipli, etc. (Fig. 1). Among the above mentioned sites Loteshwar is the only site which reveals a large exclusive collection of this regional pottery.

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3 Ajithprasad, P. and V. H. Sonawane 1994 The Harappan Culture in North Gujarat : A Regional Paradigm (In Press).

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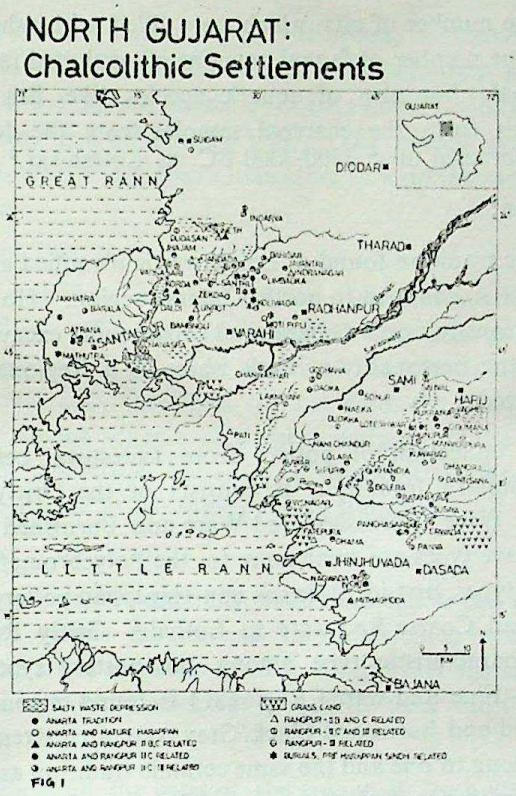

Fig. 1 The Chalcolithic settlements in north Gujarat.

Loteshwar (23° 35 'N – 71° 51 'E) is a small village situated about 12 km north of Shankheshwar, in Sami Taluka of Mehsana District. Four sites were explored around Loteshwar which are named as, Kalari-no-timbo, Khari-no-timbo, Khidadia-no-timbo and the Odher-no-timbo. Of these sites Kalari-no-timbo and Khidadia-no-timbo belongs to the Mesolithic period, where as Khari-no-timbo and Odherio-timbo revealed antiquities like, pottery, animal bones, terracotta clay lumps, terracotta animal figurine, steatite beads, microliths, etc. Among the above mentioned sites Khari-no-timbo was excavated. The site is located about half a kilometer east of Loteshwar village, on a high sand dune close to the left bank of the Khari Nadi, a tributary of the Rupen.

The habitational deposit of about 1.65 meter belongs to two separate cultural periods : Period I belongs to the Mesolithic culture while Period II belongs to the Chalcolithic culture. Period I is represented by 60 cm. to 1.00 meter thick deposit, which has yielded a large number of microlithic tools and other lithic artefacts. The excavations have also brought to light two human burials. Period II is represented by a maximum of 80 cm. thick deposit.

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It revealed a large number of pits, which were filled with ash, potsherds, animal-bones etc. A large number of faunal remains of exploited fauna includes of not only land animals but also of aquatic species like fish and turtle. The radiocarbon dates from the charcoal samples from the deposit of period II suggests a time bracket of c. 3500-3000 BC. at Loteshwar.[4]

Ceramic Tradition:

The ceramic tradition found at Loteshwar is identified as the Regional type of pottery which is confined to north Gujarat region. However, it was only after the explorations in north Gujarat and subsequent, excavations at Nagwada and Loteshwar, the personality of these wares as a Regional ceramic tradition was fully recognized.

The whole collection of pottery from Loteshwar belongs to the Non-Harappan (Regional) tradition. It consists of the Gritty Red Ware, Fine (Regional) Red Ware, Burnished Red Ware and Burnished Black/Grey Ware. A few of the above types are analogous to the Polychrome/Bichrome ware and Coarse Red ware types, first identified as non-Harappan pottery in the excavations at Surkotada,[5] and Coarse Red ware at Lothal.[6] Gritty Red ware is the most abundant and characteristic type among the pottery types of the regional tradition. While Fine Red ware (Regional) is found in considerable numbers, the Burnished Red and Burnished Black/Grey ware are extremely rare. All these different types belong to one and the same ceramic tradition as is evident from the common shape, decoration and other general features of the vessels. The division however is made on the basis of the vessels and their relative fineness of the body clay, variation in surface treatment and sometimes colour of the pottery. The Regional Red ware and the Gritty Red ware show remarkable conformity in shape and decoration. Shapes in both these types, however, are restricted to pots, jars, basins and bowls.

Gritty Red Ware:

The Gritty red ware is the most popular and abundant Regional pottery type in North Gujarat sites. The shapes of the vessels are pots, jars, bowls and

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4 Sonawane, V. H. and P. Ajithprasad, Harappan Cultural and Gujarat *Man and Environment* Vol. XIX (1-2) 1994, pp. 129-139

5 Joshi, J. P. Explorations in Kutch and Excavations at Surkotada and New light on Harappan Migration. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda. Vol. XXII Nos. 1-2 December. M. S. University of Baroda, 1972. pp. 114-117

6 Rao, S. R. Lothal: A Harappan Port town (1955-62) Vol. I *Memoris of the Archaeological Survey of India*. No. 78 New Delhi Government of India 1979.

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basins (Fig. 2, 3, 4). The body core of the pottery is coarse and the core is gritty in appearance. It is classified in two varieties: fine and coarse. The vessels are either hand made or made on a turn-table. Many vessels show a wheel turned rim luted to a hand made body. The vessels are decorated with geometric patterns using white pigment indicating to a pre-Harappan tradition of Sindh and Rajasthan.

Fine (Regional) Red Ware:

The Regional red ware is made of fine well elutriated clay containing abundant mica particles. The vessels are treated with red, chocolate and buff slip on the exterior (Fig. 2, 3, 4). The shapes of the vessels are similar to that of the Gritty Red ware and, therefore, distinct from the Harappan Red ware. The pattern and the colour scheme of painted designs on the vessels are also similar. These overall similarities therefore indicate that the Regional Red ware and the Gritty Red ware are of the same ceramic tradition.

Burnished Red Ware:

The Burnished red ware is generally hand moulded in two halves and luted at the shoulder. The vessels are thin and they are treated with bright red slip and burnished forming a fine shinning surface. Important shapes are small pots or jars and decorated with white paintings around the neck and the shoulder.

Burnished Black/Grey Ware:

It is distinguished on the basis of the colour of the body of the pottery from the Burnished red ware. Pots and jars are the only shapes found in this ware, which are also very few in number (Fig. 2).

Origin and Chronology:

As has been mentioned earlier the Gritty Red ware and the Regional Red ware of Loteshwar can be compared with the polychrome and Coarse red ware pottery of Surkotada, and the Coarse Red ware of Lothal, in terms of both vessel shapes and decorative patterns painted on them in different colour scheme. Certain shapes like bowls and use of white pigment in decorating the vessels are more akin to the pre-Harappan ceramic tradition of Sindh and Rajasthan, rather than the Harappan. Therefore, a generic kinship of this regional ceramic tradition with that of pre-Harappan (indigenous) tradition can be inferred. On the basis of the date obtained from the Chalcolithic levels at Loteshwar one can infer that this ceramic tradition was known to the indigenous communities prior to the incoming Harappans in this area and continued even during the Mature and Late Harappan periods.

At Surkotada, the non-Harappan pottery type is present in the earliest levels with the Harappan pottery, but it becomes more abundant in upper layers. At Nagwada the Regional pottery type is more than 80% of the total ceramic

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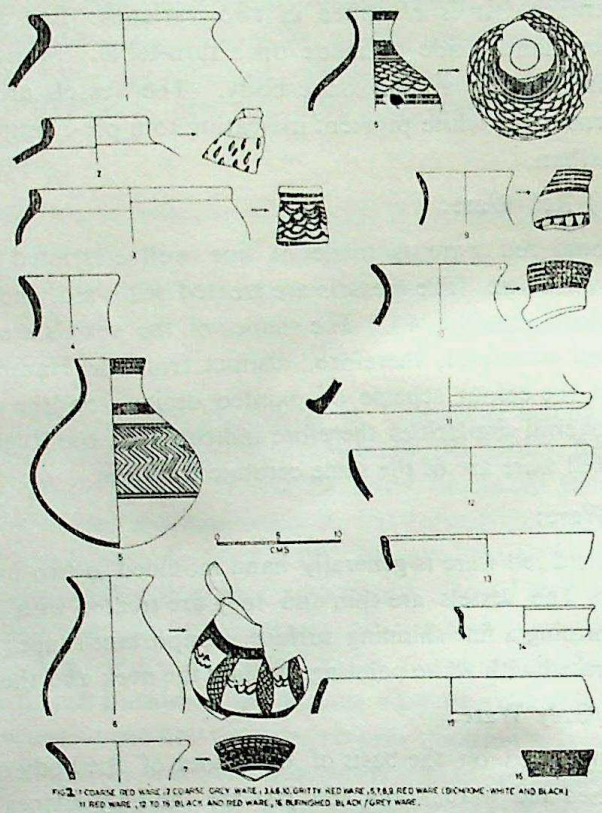

Fig. 2 Regional pottery: 1 Coarse Red Ware; 2 Coarse Grey Ware; 3, 4, 6, 10 Gritty Red Ware; 5, 7-9 Fine Red Ware (Bichrome: black on white), 11 Fine Red Ware; 12-15 Black and Red Ware; 16 Burnished Grey/ Black Ware.

assemblage found together with the mature Harappan pottery,[6] but at Loteshwar the Regional pottery is found not mixed with any other cultural traits of the Harappans.

Summary and Conclusion:

Rupen estuary in the western part of north Gujarat show a few interesting features of Chalcolithic settlements affiliated to the Harappan Culture. Chalcolithic occupation in this region had a time span of 1500 years from the last quarter of fourth millennium B.C. to the second millennium B.C.

The preliminary study reaffirms the existence and establish the extension of the Regional pottery tradition in north Gujarat region, particularly to Loteshwar. Although a remote generic resemblance of this tradition with the pre-Harappan

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(indigenous) types of Sindh and Rajasthan has been alluded to, nothing conclusive can be said about its origin. Presence of similar types of pottery in the earlier levels at Surkotada, indicates its early beginning in this region. However, the tradition asserts itself only when strong urban ethos of the Harappan tradition started declining towards the end of the mature phase of the Harappan culture and during the period that immediately followed the mature Harappan. It is perhaps not a coincidence that most of the sites in north Gujarat were occupied during this time. However more detailed investigation is needed to understand the role and significance of this Regional tradition in the structural setup of an integrated Harappan society and culture.

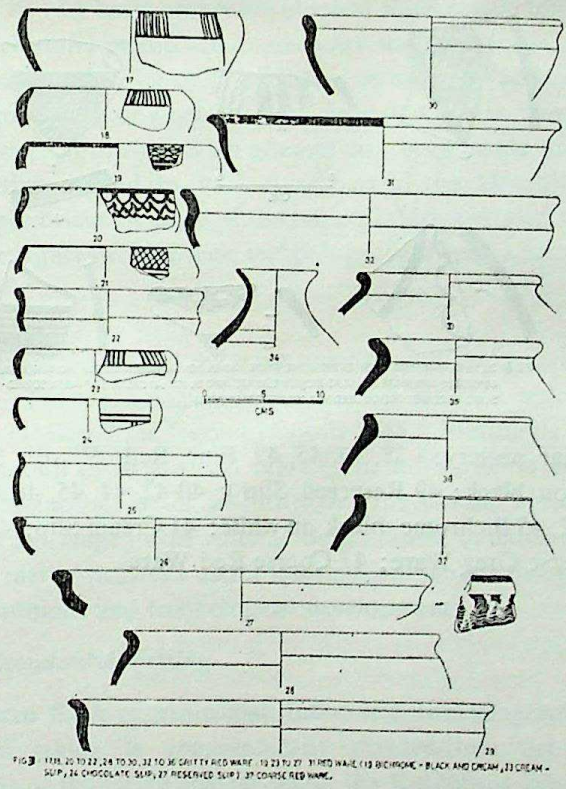

Fig. 3 Regional pottery: 17, 18, 20-22, 28-30, 32-36 Gritty Red ware; 19, 23-27, 31 Fine Red Ware (19 Bichrome: black on cream; 23 Cream Slip; 24 Chocolate Slip; 27 Reserved Slip); 37 Coarse Red Ware.

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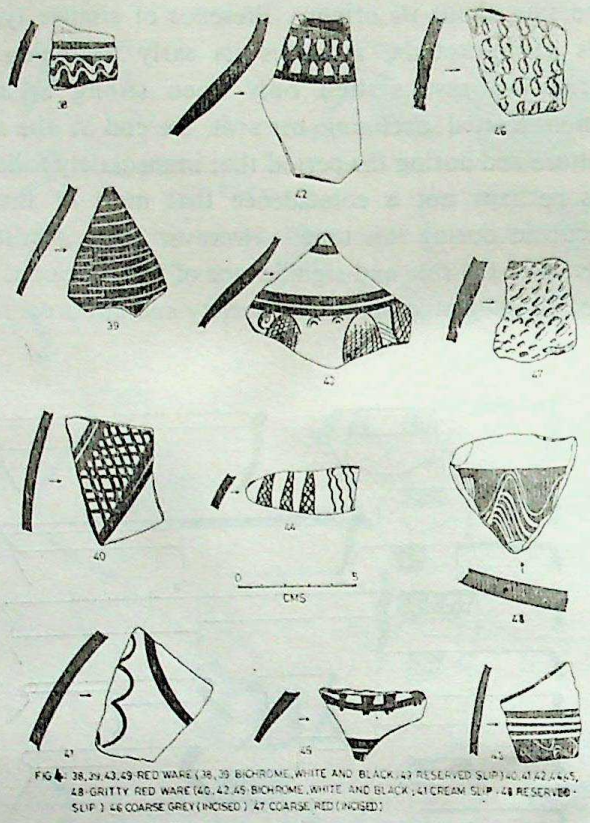

FIG 4 38,39,43,49 RED WARE (38, 39 BICHROME, WHITE AND BLACK ; 49 RESERVED SLIP) 40,41,42,44,45, 48 GRITTY RED WARE (40, 42,45 BICHROME, WHITE AND BLACK ; 41 CREAM SLIP ; 48 RESERVED SLIP) 46 COARSE GREY (INCISED) 47 COARSE RED (INCISED)

Fig. 4 Regional pottery: 38, 39, 43, 49 Fine Red Ware (38, 39 Bichrome, white on black; 49 Reserved Slip); 40-42, 44, 45, 48 Gritty Red Ware (40, 42, 45 Bichrome, black on white; 41 Cream Slip; 48 Reserved Slip); 46 Coarse Grey Ware; 47 Coarse Red Ware.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE MESOLITHIC CULTURE OF GUJARAT

By
AMBIKA PATEL*

Abstract

Indian sub-continent comprises a vast and diverse set of interconnecting ecosystems which has provided the necessary raw materials for the sustinence of the indigenous prehistoric cultures. The earliest inhabitants contineued with a variety of food collecting and some hunting strategies. In the Archaeological context because of its very basic nature the physically preserved remains of human activities in the prehistoric period are fragmentary and incomplete, except that of the Mesolithic which yields a lot of information on various facets of the culture. In this context a good deal of work has been done in Gujarat from the time of Robert Bruce Foote. In this paper an attempt has been made to compile the available information related to various aspects of the Mesolithic Culture of Gujarat. The paper discusses some of the basic problems related to the cultural identity of the Mesolithic people; their technology, subsistence pattern and art.

Introduction

The " Mesolithic " is one of the most complex and wide spread phases of Indian Prehistory. The chronological definition that has been widely accepted in India tends to use " Microlithic " synonymously with " Mesolithic." Microliths being the major group of artefactual remains in a Mesolithic site, they have been used as a diagnostic factor in identifying the site as ' Mesolithic.' They represent an economic stage in the cultural development of human beings. The preserved organic matter provides useful information about subsistence practices, environmental conditions and technological developments.

Geology and Environmental Setting

On the western flank of peninsular India lies the geographical region of Gujarat, and this region is geographically divided into the main land of Gujarat, consisting of the fertile coastal plain; the Kathiawar Peninsula which is mountainous with a radiating system of drainage; the Kutch peninsula and the southern extension of the coastal plain. From the recent studies those of Zeuner (1963) requires reexamination. But the climatic fluctuations are fairly clear.

Journal of the Oriental Institute Vol. 45, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 1995, Issue, pp. 93-98.

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Distribution of Sites and Settlement Pattern

The following are the excavated sites discussed in this paper:

Site	Co-ordinates	District	Local-Geography	Reference
Langhnaj	23° 27'N; 72° 32'E	Mehsana	Sand dune	Sankalia 1965'
Tarsang	22° 56'N; 73° 28'E	Panchmahal	Hill	Sonawane 1983
Loteshwar	23° 37'N; 71° 49'E	Mehsana	Sand dune	IAR 1990 91
Kanewal	22° 28'N; 72° 45'E	Kheda	—do—	Mehta et.al. 1980
Ratanpur	23° 28'N; 71° 48'E	Mehsana	—do—	IAR 1984-85
Undreal	22° 58'N; 72° 46'E	Ahmedabad	—do—	IAR 1971-72
Pithad	22° 41'N; 70° 35'E	Jamnagar	—do—	IAR 1991-92

There are concentrations of mesolithic sites on the sand dunes with access to water and along the eastern stretches of Gujarat flanking the hills. In Gujarat sand dunes have developed through local depressions in which monsoon water gets collected. Langhnaj (Sankalia 1965) in Northern Gujarat is the first sand dune site that was excavated. Tarsang (Sonawane 1983) is one of the best example of a Mesolithic rock shelter in Gujarat.

Technology and Subsistence

Microliths being the major component of Mesolithic culture, were made from cryptocrystalline silica through pressure flaking and were of size ranging from 1 to 5 cms in length. These were produced by removing parallel sided flakes using pressure technique from prepared cores. The Mesolithic stone knappers were selective in choosing the raw material and varieties of cryptocrystalline silica; chert, chalcedony, jasper, and agate were more commonly used.

The lithic industries of this period produced both geometric and non-geometric tools. The main tool types are blades, lunates, borers, points, notched blades, penknife, and geometric tools such as trapezes, triangles, tranchets, trapezoids etc. Rich heritage of lithic industry consisting of about thirty different types of tools has been found at Tarsang.

Besides the microlithic tools, several other types of implements were also used by the Mesolithic people. The Mesolithic strata at Tarsang, Loteshwar and Langhnaj yielded ring stones, hammer-stones, anvils, scrapers and different types of flakes. The occurrence of bone points from the Tarsang Mesolithic level is highly significant in terms of tool-making technology, because it points towards the experimentation with a new raw material.

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Diet during the Mesolithic period, mainly consisted of plant food as well as different kinds of small animas like insects and fish. Food gathering was a simple affair. Unfortunately the depictions in the rock art do not tell us about the vegitation exploited.

Based on the above data, it can be assumed that the Mesolithic gatherers choose areas congenial for such activities and were also greatly influenced by the proximity of water sources. This probably resulted in the simultaneous inhabitation of different groups along the banks of the river. It is quite likely that the first group interaction by humans took place here. Thus, hunting of small animals and gathering of plant food formed one of the major occupational activities.

Burial Practices

Only the evidence of burials among the Mesolithic people has survived. Both in rock shelters and in open air sites, the dead were buried within the habitation area. In Gujarat the Mesolithic burials have been reported from Langhnaj, and Loteshwar. None of the burials yield evidence of any burial goods. However, at Langhnaj few dentallium shell beads were found alongwith the skeleton.

Fourteen burials have been reported from Langhnaj, of which thirteen were in highly flexed position, while the remaining one was in an extended position. The orientation of the body in the graves was in east-west direction, the head towards the east. At Loteshwar, among the two burials, one was in an extended articulated-position with hands under the head and second in a flexed position.

Art

The notable features of Mesolithic cultures of this region include their rock art in the form of line drawings on the walls and ceilings of rock shelters and are valuable for understanding the artistic expression of the Mesolithic people. Along with other archaeological data, this helps in reconstructing the technology, economy, social and religious organizations. The hunting scenes furnish us with great amount of technological information about various Microlithic barbed weapons and implements.

Tarsang [22°-56'N; 73°-28'E] is the first excavated site in Gujarat which has yielded evidence of Mesolithic paintings. All the paintings are drawn on the cave walls, projected roofs of the cave shelters and niches developed by natural weathering of the granite boulders. Some of the paintings at Tarsang are on ceilings at a considerable height. The artists would need some support to stand upon for the execution of these paintings and shows his ingenuity. The Tarsang paintings are in monochrome red ochre probably prepared from hematite. Based on the typological similarities of Tarsang paintings, a tentative chronology has

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been derived, extending it from Prehistoric to the Historic period. The earliest group of rock paintings at Tarsang consists of line drawings of several deer, two hunters and a rhinoceros-like animal. From this rock shelter, bones of deer and other animals were obtained which supports the theory that these paintings are of Mesolithic period.

Other Noteworthy Finds

A very pure copper knife has also been discovered at Langhnaj along with Harappan type steatite beads and black and red ware. These artefacts are of developed technology or an import from near by areas. These could have come to Langhnaj through trade, barter or even theft (Possehl 1992). Langhnaj shows certain trends towards domestication of animals and beginnings of agriculture. It appears that there was some connection between the hunter-gatherers, cattle breeders and possibly the agriculturalists, It is possible to suppose that through an interaction they shared certain life styles, but at the same time preserved their cultural identity.

Conclusion

To sum up, typo-technologically the microlithic assemblage collected from different sites of Gujarat does not show any cultural evolution unlike the Mesolithic sites of Central India and Uttar Pradesh. Most of the excavated Mesolithic sites in Gujarat are in the north. But, the exploration data shows that the south was also densely inhabited by Mesolithic communities. Microliths form the major component of their technology. Their art is well reflected in the rock paintings from Tarsang and other sites. The discovery of large number of open air sites and rock shelters prove that diverse environmental resources were exploited by the Mesolithic communities in Gujarat. The evidence obtained from Langhnaj, Ratanpur, Kanewal and Loteshwar clearly indicate that the Mesolithic people came in contact with the more or less settled agricultural Chalcolithic communities. The main lacuna in our understanding of Mesolithic culture of Gujarat is due to the paucity of C 14 dates, except one from Langhnaj. Thus, our knowledge of the Mesolithic culture of Gujarat is still at a fragmentary stage. We can only be definite about this when we have enough data collected through a systematic and integrated survey followed by a rigorous analyses.

Acknowledgement

I wish to thank Professor R. N. Mehta for his encouragement and for reading, correcting and for making valuable comments for this article preperation. I also wish to thank Dr. V. H. Sonawane and Dr. K. Krishnan for their valuable comments and constant encouragement.

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લેખકોને :

૧ પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ નકલમાં ટાઈપકામની ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૨ લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરો વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ પૃષ્ઠ, એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩ 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કૉપીરાઈટ મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખક અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪ સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫ પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખો જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વા ધ્યા ય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : **રાજેન્દ્ર આઈ. નાણાવટી**

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે—દીપોત્સવી અંક, વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક અને જન્માષ્ટમી અંક.

લવાજમ :

—ભારતમાં...રૂા. ૪૦=૦૦ પૈ. (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

—પરદેશમાં...યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે...૧૨=૦૦ ડૉલર (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

—યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે...પૌં. ૭=૦૦ (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમવર્ષ નવેમ્બરથી ઑક્ટોબર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું—**નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામન્દિર, મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય, રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ, વડોદરા-૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.**

જાહેરાતો :

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાતો આપવા માટે લખો—

સંપાદક, 'સ્વાધ્યાય', પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર, રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ, વડોદરા-૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.

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REVIEWS

A Comparative History of Ideas : HAJIME NAKAMURA, Pub. Motilal Banarsidass, Bungalow Rd., Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-110007, 1992, pp. i to xx + 1 to 572, price Rs. 250/-

This is a renowned work which was already published in 1975. It is now printed in Indian Edition in '92 by Motilal Banarasidas The author Hajime Nakamura is an eminent scholar, Professor Emeritus in the University of Tokyo and a recognised authority on the subject of Oriental culture. What is remarkable in the present work is his intimate acquaintance of Western tradition, christian scriptures and culture from which he has profusely quoted in the book. This is an illustrious work, a comparative survey of the significant ideas and views both of the East as well as of the West. The book is voluminous and it is arranged in five main chapters, each divided into three or more sub-chapters. In present work there are major themes such as creation of the world, knowledge of antiquity, ancient civilisation and culture, Indian scriptures, material elements and reality, Buddhistic thought, life of Jesus, christian thought, Ethics, Medieval thought, social and political thinking, religious reformation and modern thinking in light of ancient tradition and all these topics have been arranged, classified and discussed in their logical respective manner for systematic evaluation.

Nakamura has kept Indian thought in the centre and has historically as well as philosophically compared it with ancient Greek, Japanese, Israelite and Chinese cultural and traditional thought. He has discussed the Upaniṣadas and Darśanas comprehensively and he has tried to find the intensive meaning of Vedic terms as well as those terms indicating rituals and practises. Author has undertaken a formidable task of finding the root of the term and seed of concept and then he has attempted to search for parallel in another culture such as Greek, Chinese and Japanese. These seem to be a major success in this uphill endeavour with few exceptions. I will cite two examples where there is need for further exploration and need of advancement. There are certain terms used in *Ṛgveda* such as '*Go*,' '*Dhṛti*,' '*Dheeh*' whose meaning is double and they do not precisely indicate material and ritualistic object. They indicate occult and inward connotation. It is true that Yaska later on and in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and in later Upaniṣadas there is an explanation of the intensive meaning of certain terms employed in *Ṛgveda*. However there appears to be

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an occult meaning of the term which demands knowledge-oriented search besides action-meaning as largely understood by Sāyaṇa in later times. Second instance is that of certain names used later in Purāṇas such as *Aditi*, *Mārkaṅda*, *Śiva*, *Rudra* and *Viṣṇu* which require adequate *analysis* as at the back of proper names, there is implicitly the knowledge-implying meaning. Many stories are weaved around fanciful picture of names and masses have been made to believe in such imaginative fables throughout centuries in the country. As a result, a tradition is established and people assume it to be reality. Author has indeed expressed the significant view that the *Sūktas* of *Ṛgveda* were foremost and in the leading concepts of '*Ṛtam*,' '*Satyam*,' '*Nāsat*,' '*Vāk*' the poets and sages of *Ṛgveda* had maintained the key-notions regarding creation of world, speech, language, cosmic harmony, ethical behaviour, nature of opposition, natural development, causation and ultimate reality. There is parallel laid down in the philosophical views in China, Japan, Israel and Greece. In Shinto religion too there is worship of Sun, in Egypt in the worship of God 'Ra,' in China in the dual of 'Isangi' and 'Isanmi' and 'Kami' such a devotion and its development are found. Author has ably discussed the meaning of 'Existent' and 'Non-existent' while elucidating '*Nāsadiya Sūkta*' *in Ṛgveda*. Its logical subtlety in argument is well articulated and its comparison with other sources in culture is found persuasive.

Rise of 'Darśanas' in Indian tradition, development of 'Heterodoxy' in development of ancient reflective thought, material elements, nature of space, time, motion and absolute thought are topics which are at length discussed and they are of absorbing interest from reflective standpoint. There is found parallel between Jainas and Democritus, Charvakas and Empedocles, Anaxemenes, Cynics, Ājivikas Buddhism and thought of Socrates in Greece. These views are critically compared. One would desire that author should have discussed epistemological, ethical and metaphysical views of these thinkers also. Having dealt with the principles of transmigration, suffering and *Karma*, author has undertaken the topic of life and thought of Buddha and compared it with that of Christ. This is a huge task and with the help of several data, biographical details, evidence from scriptures and historical details, the truth of personal and religious lives of both the teachers of the world have been described and compared in consolidated and compact way.

Scepticism, material outlook and asceticism have brought the change of social outlook and spiritual faith in ancient land of India, Rome and Jerusalem. There is no doubt that their spiritual work is similar. It is true that Buddha, by his method of rational discussion in dialogues and rigorous spiritual practise, attempted to bring about Universal way of life and reliosity in larger part of mankind. Yet the two teachers differ in their certain views regarding God, salvation and knowledge. An appropriate parallel between contemporary

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Western philosopher L. Wittgenstein and Buddha is also drawn. This clearly shows the most recent development in philosophy that author is acquanited with and thinking of both Wittgenstein and Buddha is quite subtle and their insistence on empirical knowledge is acute, one in logic and another in dislogues. ' Tathagata has no views' says Buddha and Wittgenstein says in similar vein that ' He has no views but according to him philosophy is an activity through which he is analysing the problems of philosophy and resolving them. Just as Buddha said that he was like a doctor who is able to cure the patient, similarly Wittgenstein said that his method of analysis is therapeutic and diagnostic, Buddha emphasised mainly on righteousness and moral life rather than discussing metaphysical problems. It is becoming a totally life and practise-oriented system.

It is said by the author that Buddha performed supernatural acts as they were done by Jesus. If this were so he would not have replied to Kisa Gotami to the effect to bring a grain of mustard from the house where there was no case of death. Buddha, although a spiritual personality, thought as an empiricist and associationist as Hume in the West. Owing to impact of the then time, during which many wise persons opined differently on philosophical topics, it was found advisable to keep silence on metaphysical issues. Buddha held ' *Dhamma*' to be valid law and a Universal principle. This is similar to Hindu thought, custom and practise where ' *Dharma* ' was held in high in social, religious and cultural behaviour. There is a distinct comparison of Buddhist '*Vinaya Pittaka*' with Ethics of Bible. Compassion, Tolerance, Friendship, Honesty, Sincerity, Introspection, Meditation and Charity are regarded as Unique, Individual and Social Virtues. Jesus too, through parables and stories, emphasised the significance and role of moral habits and virtues in personal and collective life. '*Nirvāṇa*' means individual as well as collective liberation from ignorance, '*Bhavacakra*' and social dogma. Christian concept of Salvation, Truth and Heaven bring out purity of soul, inward cleanliness of conscience and openness of heart and spirit towards light and knowledge. In China the doctrine of 'Wu Wai' is often recommended as remedy for personal problems and complexes of vital nature. It is explained by the author that it does not mean ' Non-activity,' negativity and passive outlook but it is ' Going back,' ' introspection ' and re-thinking on actions and commitments in moral life. Buddhist ethics is compared with Socratic and Aristotelian Ethics. Socrates held that once a person knows what is virtue, it is not possible to deviate from the path of righteousness. Aristotle insisted on ' Mean' in activity and making it a habit and advised not to go extremes.

There is a parallel drawn between Pythagoras and Buddha in connection with collective living. Buddha established '*Saṅgha*' and there were four orders of it. In Greece, Pythagoras evolved the way of collective life in order to enunciate

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scientific and mathematical discoveries and studies. In Christianity also, there were monasteries of priests and nuns. Collective life is part of self-discipline and its implementation in society and altruistic well-being. Buddha in later age, exhorted his disciples to become a light unto themselves and not to depend upon any individual for liberation. Moral life in the form of 'Middle-path' (*Madhyam-Pratipadā*) is the basis of individual and collective life in society. There are definite methods and techniques of self-discipline laid down in Buddhism, Hinduism and Christianity. Concentration, Meditation, Fasting, bodily exercises, kinds of control and self-restraints are several means by which intuitive knowledge, liberation, ecstasy and realisation are attained. In Christianity inward prayer, isolation, surrender, faith and meditation are specific mean. by which communion with God is sought by devout individual. In Tao religion as well as in view of Confucious concentration, love and social relation have been held as means for union with social reality and Ultimate Being. Lao Tze and Confucious have brought significant religious and moral change in society and History of China. Analects of Confucious have been parts of Syllabi of public examinations for Administration in China. As moral teacher, expert administrator and religious reformer, the example and personality of Confucious have remained constant in tradition of China. Author has frequently compared Buddhist Ethics with that of Confucious. The Ethics of *Mahābhārata* too stands in similar position with Ethics of Confucious.

In Chapter III besides the comparision of moral philosophy of Universal religions, author has discussed the ideal of Universal state. The concept of 'Chakravarti' is brought into focus and views of St. Augustine, Mo Tzu and Hindu idea of monarchy are discussed. Of course, Buddha discouraged members of the '*Saṅgha*' from Participating in political life, he went further and banned all discussion of politics Later, the Early Buddhists applied the ideal of 'Cakravarti' to Gotama. In India, King Ashoka followed the religion of Gotama and his moral views were implemented. During the times of Mauryan empire, Buddhist '*Dhamma*' was held as supreme. In Tibet, the idea finds parallel and in the reign of King Shotuku in Japan during the seventh century A.D. when he framed the constitution according to the code of conduct prescribed by Buddha and the Order. Author has opined that an attempt has been made in medieval history that of 'Holy Roman Empire' in the field of world state, administration and political life to establish kingdom on the line of religious and moral principles. Eastern Universal monarches thought that at the bottom of the activities of a community 'led by a monarch with modest self reflection, there should be religion. In ancient India, the impact of Kautilya remained till the end of Mauryan dynasty. After that the main stream of Indian history ran in different channel. It was largely towards decentralisation. However, looking to the influence of religion on world affairs, it seems that it caused rulers to deal with

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people affectionately and compassionately. Prince Shotuku noted, 'As the disease of infatuation of the common people is endless, the compassionate measures taken up by *Bodhisattvas* also are endless 'Proper ties are what can save people from poverty and affliction. The monarches who professed a Universal religion carried on humanitarian activities based upon a philanthropic spirit.

As regards Buddha's proposition of non-ego or negative doctrine of self, author things that Buddha was constantly in search of true self but could not identify it with prevalent notion of self in various philosophies. He was clearly against the false notion of self such as ego, past memory or operation of behaviour. Further as regards the ideas of heaven and hell Buddha thought about the world of desire and that of the world of *Dhamma*. This is compared with the view of Aristotle who thought about the 'Terrestrial' and 'Celestial' halves in the world. In the chapter on 'Medieval thought' author has dwelt on conflict between religion and state, religion and popular culture and he has appealed for new innovation such as that of Zen Buddhism. It is the motto of Zen priest that 'If one did not work a day one should not eat on that day'.

Mystic experience and its intellectual interpretation is a perennial theme in Asian philosophy and this is well compared with Greek and Persian tradition. In the west Plotinus Dionysus and other Neo-Platonists have articulated mystic experience, at times in negative manner and they can be compared with *Mahāyāna*, especially the system of Nāgārjuna, Zen thinkers and Vedantic thought of the East. Author has taken into account the *Bhakti* tradition of Alvar saints, *Viśiṣṭādvaita* view and Medieval saints of India and has dwelt upon the evaluation of devotion as one of the unique approach to ultimate Truth. Author has said that 'The doctrine of Void (*Śunyatā*) is not nihilism. On the contrary, *Mahāyāna* Buddhists asserted that it is the true basis for the foundation of Ethical values'. A similar view can be held about 'negative theology of Christianity'. Rudolf Otto says, 'This negative theology does not mean that faith and feeling are dissipated and reduced to nothing. On the contrary, it contains within it the loftiest spirit of devotion, and it is out of such 'negative' attributes that Chrysotom fashions the most solemn confessions and prayers'. Relationship between Śruti and Smṛti in Indian tradition and a similar relationship can be found in Christian tradition between Bible and Scholastic theologicians, this has been discussed by the author pointing out the status of reasoning in each tradition. It may be noted here that in Indian philosophy, religious consciousness and spiritual experience are not severed from philosophical reasoning but they form integral part of coherent thought which is the essence of philosophising. Unfortunately in Christian thought, theology is set apart from philosophy as if theology is legitimisation of dogmas of belief.

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In the last chapter on modern outlook and Religion, author has dealt with the issue of religious temper, faith and scientific and ethical research and practise in synoptic manner. Ninomiya Sutuku (1787-1856) the ' Peasant sage ' of Japan stressed the importance of nature to man and further the importance of noting and following the natural in man's relationships with his fellow beings. Author has favoured the contemporary Humanism and its fervour found in many recent universal benevolent trends of social service, utopia and welfare movements. Author has also found in Indian personalities such as Mahaprabhu Chaitanya, Shrimad Vallabhacharya and Swami Ramkrishna the source and true remedy for better change and constitution of positive elements of healthy and spiritual mankind. In China, the sense of Humanism was very conspicuous with Yen-Yuan who claimed ' Man is of all things the most pure, which is why he is said to be born holding a central position between heaven and earth '. In Japan, before the introduction of western civilisation there were some Buddhist thinkers who advocated theories implying the equality of men. In America, during the modern period slavery came to be abolished. Churches of many faiths stirred up the conscience of the country against the inhumanity of slavery. The gradual abolition of sex discrimination is also a feature of modern thought. ' It should be added that the assertions of eminent thinkers who appeared in modern time, although not numerous, have important implications for the understanding not only of contemporary India, but also to some extent, of the development of modern thought in general. In conclusion he has said that in India, modern ideas are to be found, albeit in their incipient stages; and the depth and originality of these ideas warrants their coming to light. Possibly they are of even greater importance for the future of the country than much of the classical thought. The situation must be admitted of other countries of Asia also. Author has successfully and delightfully brought out the compactness of the work of comparative ideas in the world and has written in very lucid and thoroughgoing style.

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H. M. JOSHI

The Foundations of Living Faiths by HARIDAS BHATTACHARYYA, Motilal Banarasidass, Publishers Private Ltd., Delhi, Second Edition 1994, Pages 557, Price: Rs. 425/-

This book was first published in 1938. It constitutes Volume One. (It appears that after this no Volume was published, though intended). It is

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subtitled as 'An Introduction to Comparative Religion'. Professor H. D. Bhattacharyya delivered Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh lectures in 1934 in the University of Calcutta, his *alma mater*. Formerly only foreign scholars were invited to this prestigious lectureship. Bhattacharyya was the first Indian to deliver these lectures. These lectures express the author's "thoughts on a subject which is of abiding interest to all thinking minds and of profound meaning for the Spiritual life of every religious community". (Preface XII).

The author was born in a learned orthodox Brahmin family. He was educated in the oldest missionary college in Calcutta. He had spent the greater part of his teaching career at Dacca University, one of the important centres of Muslim culture. Thus he was well qualified for this subject of comparative study of religious. As he says, 'I have realized the possibility of allying personal orthodoxy with broad sympathy for other modes of belief'. (Preface XIII). This he has amply demonstrated in this work.

The present volume contains ten chapters, comprising of the first six lectures that the author delivered, though he gave some more lectures which probably were to form the second volume Yet the present volume is self-sufficient. It covers five major religions, namely, Hinduism Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Zoroastrianism; oas appears from the titles of the various chapters. Though the author concentrates on these, he has also referred to the other religious and sect, such as Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, Aryasamāja, Brāhma-samāja etc. among the Indian religious; and confucianism, Taoism and Shintoism among the Mongolian religions. It is true that the study of some of these is scanty.

Prof. Bhattacharyya has studied the important religions quite sympathetically, though he has been critical also of all of them, including his own faith of Hinduism. His approach is mainly historical, psychological and theological, rather them philosophical. Though there are many aspects of religion worthy of detailed study, he has initially concentrated on the general aspects of the nature of religion, prophets and revelations, which form the first three chapters. His real interest is in the subject of God and he has assigned the rest of seven chapters to this only. There are two chapters on "The Gods of Hinduism," one on Vedic and another on Puranic. One chapter each is on God in Judaism, in Christianity and in Islam, Again two chapters are on. "God in Zoroastrianism" one Gathic and another Post-Gathic. The author says, "We shall see that there are certain fundamental beliefs without which no religion can statisfy the spiritual needs of man, and of these needs a right understanding of the nature of God and His working and a right attitude towards the world of sentient beings are the most insistent" (p. 38). In consistency with this he has discussed in particular the qualities of God. From the point of philosophy, arguments for

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the existence of God, God's relation with the world in general and with the individual selves, ontological status and the nature of the world and the selves and their immortality, and such other allied problems have not received the author's serious logical attention. He is of the opinion that though religion contains all the three elements of intellectuality, emotion and volition the undue, rational philosophical weightage may affect religiocity. In religion insight and intuition and suprarational experience, is of utmost importance. The study of prophets and revelations is important from this non-rational point of view. That of course does not mean that religion is opposed to reasonableness. According to Bhattacharyya, "all the faculties of the soul progress to find their rest assured and their difficulties solved in religion" (p. 9). The popular adage that 'faith can remove mountains' is indeed revelatory of wisdom. The religions man sees further into reality than ordinary mortals. Seers and preachers keep a religion alive. A religions genius is born, not made.

The author divides the prophetic inspiration into four classes: (1) message by a divine incarnation, (2) message communicatied direct by God to a prophet, (3) through angelic or similar agency, and (4) prophet finds it in his own heart (p. 70). And these indicate a rational order of development and are illustrated in the various religions. While Hinduism has all these aspects, others do not believe in the possibility of direct divine incarnation.

The author quotes Whitaker who found evidence for inspiration in "(1) the majesty of the doctrine itself; (2) the simpicity, purity and divinity of the style; (3) the antiquity of the books themselves; (4) prophetic oracles; (5) miracles; (6) the failure of the enemy to destroy them; (7) testimony of martyrs; (8) the character of the writers, mostly illiterate and incapable of writing without inspiration", (p. 91).

Bhattacharyya does not accept Muhammad's claim as "the seal of the prophets". It is as good as sealing the religions development of mankind, by sealing God's wisdom and *omnipotence.*

In the Vedas we find different degrees of personification of the forces of nature, traces of animism and fetishism in the deification of the inanimate objects like hills and rivers and plants etc., some aspects of totemism in so far as some animals like cow, boar, tortoise etc. were associated with the gods. Again there were tutilary gods and goddesses, demons and malevolent spirits of various kinds. Besides this, examples of height of imaginative thoughts as found in the Nāsadīya-nīkta are alluded to (though in the footnote), but not much attention has been paid to its monistic implications, even the name of the sūkta is not mentioned by the author. Some attention is given to the high Upaniṣadic

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conception of Brahman, though, it appears according to the author, that religiocity diminishes as dry thoughtfulness increases, and get it forms an important aspect of Hinduism in general, salvation lies in the realization of the identity of the Self with the Absolute. " But when man's self realization entailed a complete disappearance of the gods and even of Iśvara, leaving no provision for the gratification of these emotional cravings which a personal God can alone satisfy, the solution failed to appeal to the ordinary mind " (p. 180). The Vedas and the Upaniṣads illustrate tendencies towards polytheism, panthcism, henotheism, monotheism, monism and Absolutism.

In the chapter on Pauraṇic gods, the author has discussed more importantly Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. Under Vaiṣṇavism the reference is to all the incarnations of Viṣṇu, which are not to be found in the Śaiva conception. There is some reference to the depiction of Kṛṣṇa by some followers as amorous, which is deterioration than elevation of the image of Kṛṣṇa. Comparatively the Rāma cult is purer, one and the same God gets various name like Nārāyaṇa, Hari, Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa etc., with different nuances, in their meanings Similarly Hara, Śiva, Śaṅkara Rūdra Mahādeva etc. are the various name of the same God. Phallic worship also has been discussed. There is discussion of the other sects like the worship of Śakti, Gaṇesh and Sūrya. The unity of Śiva and Śakti, of Hari and Hara also has been shown. The contribution of the Vaiṣṇava ācāryas and the saints receives due attention.

It is one of the wonders of Hinduism that inspite of the historical changes in the religions ideas right from the ancient Vedic times to the present day, all the different varieties of worship and ideologies, including that of the performance of sacrifices and materialist atheism, have been simultaneously and contemporaneously followed, demonstrating the prevalent spirit of tolerance. This is so not only internally among the believers in Hinduism, but also with respect to the allied sects of Jainism and Buddhism and the other religious faith of Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Zoroastrianism. It ilustrates all the aspects of religion from the most primitive to the most enlightened, without much of internal conflict. Each person has his own place in the unitary religious ladder.

The author discusses how Judaism has developed, its prophets and the idea of God Yahweh, as a national god, exclusive of the Jews. He has shown how Judaism was influenced by Cannanite culture, Platonism, Gnosticism, Mithraism and Zoroastrianism and how it paved the way to Christianity and later to Islam. We see how, in particular the conception of God developed from monolatry and a sort of polytheism to purer forms of monotheism, culminating in Islam. There is some sort of internal affinity among the semitic religions, inspite of the conflicts between them.

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In Christianity, speaking of Christ as the only begotten son of God, elevates the position of the prophet by making him one with God in essence. He becomes the mediator and judge in respect of man and his sins. Salvation becomes comparatively easier through repentance and confession before Christ who is given God's power to forgive. God incarnated Himself through Jesus to redeem the sinner. That is God's mercy, because He is a loving father. Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man make Christianity a universal religion, though redemption is through the acceptance of Christ only (which again makes it narrow) Jesus did not claim that he taught a new religion, but he revealed and fulfilled what the earlier prophets had taught to the Jews. It was supposed that since Christ had perfected the faith, his was the last revelation, much in the spirit of Islam. In this connection the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, as constituting one of the Christian beliefs in the Trinity alongwith God and Christ and the kingdom of God on earth, having its spiritual political and ethical implications become significant.

In Christianity there is a reference of sending a Paraclete after Jesus had ascended to heaven. Muhammad seized upon this as Jeous' prophecy regarding his (Muhammad's) own advent as the Last Prophet. According to the author, Muhammad's Chief merit lies in his uncompromising monotheism. Any concession in this idea would mean polytheism. In Judaism and Christianity such concessions are allowed, even it unintentionally, as for example the avowed doctrine of Trinity in Christianity, though it claims to be a monotheistic religion, superior to any previous ones. Add to this the conception of Mary as Mother of God, or Mother-God. Such compromises can not be allowed in strict monotheism, in which God alone is the greatest.

There is a long discussion regarding the nature and function of Muhammad as the Prophet of God. In this is shown how gradually Muhammad takes for himself more and more unique and the best position as the last prophet. He takes all the good points from Christianity even though they did not firm with some of the important Islamic conceptions. As the author remarks, 'the logic of the heart was allowed to overthrow theological consistency' (p. 367). There was no salvation except through the acceptance of Muhammad. It became a duty of the followers to save the unbelievers by bringing them, by any means, to accept Muhammad. " The Koran is the general code, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, criminal, penal and yet religious." (Author quotes from Khwaja Kamaluddin, p. 371). Qur'ān cannot be subjected to any kind of scruting.

The author has extensively dealt with the nature and qualities of God according to Islam. It is difficult to decide whether God is personal or impersonal, transcendant or proximate, whether he could or could not have

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anthropomorphic qualities, whether he has any positive qualities at all or only negative ones. Diverse and even contradictory interpretations have been put regarding God's nature and his relation with man and the world. There have been sorts of tussels between the orthodox and the liberal understanding of God. One dominant view is that God is beyond the capacity of human comprehension, that God is unlike everything that we have experience of in this world. Hence He could be only negatively described, which reminds us of the Upaniṣadic 'Neti neti'. But man does not find mental satisfaction in such position. God cannot be called father or mother, for this is superimposition of human relationship. but God is beyond all such consideration. Man at the most is his slave, and that makes God despot, which characteristic is to be found in the Sultans, though not originally intended.

Gods ninty nine names have been mentioned. But the name of the essence of God is Allah, which according to the Muslim theologicians means a "Being who exists necessarily by Himself comprising all the attributes of perfection".

The following seven altributes by unanimous agreement were assigned to Allah, namely, Life, Knowledge, Power, Will, Hearing, Seeing and Speech. These are not so much qualities as His essence. But a good deal of controversy prevails regarding the interpretation of these, considering that the undesirable human element is inevitable. Hence these are looked upon as allegorical by some.

Islam, the name of the religion, means resignation to the Will of God, and as such, the relation to Allah could be one of servitude.

There are other problems regarding divine fore-knowledge and decree, divine will and human destiny, God's mercy, love and justice, side by side with human freedom. Absolutism of the Unity of God is indeed of the supreme value, but for truly religions purposes, some amount of anthropomorphism cannot be altogether avoided especially when Islam existed and came to be modified here and there to suit the influences of the living other religions. Hence the orthodox views and the liberal interpreters did have and do have some differences, as it happens in every religion. It all depends upon how much reason and objective criticism is allowed for the good of any religion itself, for always there are genuine problems which require to be solved. This requires faith in human reason and understanding. In Islam saints and sufis have developed mysticism which comes nearer to Hinduism and its pantheism, but that is not always accepted by orthodoxy.

The author has treated the subject of God in Zoroastrianism in two chapters. This appears to be rather out of proportion, Hinduism has two chapter; and Judaism, Christianity and Islam receive one chapter each. From the point of view of the number of adherents, Zoroastrianism has very few

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adherents in the two states of Gujarat and Maharashtra. Yet according to the author this religion has its own place and contribution as a religion. Along with Hinduism this is a an Aryan religion having its origin in Iran.

Zarathustra the founder of the early unknown times, was a great fighter against lie and evil, Zoroastrianism replaced the polytheism of Persia, because of its strong ethical teaching. It believes in the reality and personality of God Ormazd as well as reality of evil (unlike Advaitism). It believes in the progress of the world towards perfection, and the ultimate triumph of the good over evil through the coming of the Kingdom of Ormazd with the cooperation of man. It is not by ecstacy and meditation, but by struggle and suffering must one redeem the world from falsehood and wickedness, and thus win the great reward by fighting the battle of Truth and Righteousness. There have been dualistic tendencies introduced in this religion because of the constant fight between good and evil. But anonotheistic interpretation has its greater importance. The author says that from this great religion, even Judaism, Christianity and Islam have borrowed materials. He advises that the adherents should infuse vitality into this religion by diffuring its truth like light.

Thus this book on the various religions makes an interesting reading and is full of information. The author wishes that the intuitions from these different religions could be put together, so that foundations for universal religion could be laid. This wish is good indeed, but the present world is repeate with the fundamentalisti who constitute a great danger to human unity.

Baroda — A. G. JAVADEKAR

A Treasury of Jain Tales: Edited by Prof. V. M. KULKARNI, Shree Shwetambara Murtipujak Jain Boarding, (Ahmedabad), Series Vol. 5, Published by the Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre, 'Darshan', Opp. Ranakpur Society, Shahibag, Ahmedabad-380004. First Edition March 1994. Pages 8 + 40 + 368 + 42 + 2 Plates; 22.5 cms × 15 cms. Price: Rs. 200/-

This is an excellent book presenting English translation of as many as 124 stories collected from different Jaina, Canonical texts as also from commentaries thereon. The stories are translated by the following six scholars; 1. Dr. J. C. Jain, 2. Dr. P. M. Upadhye, Prof. R. P. Nipanikar, Prof. S. T. Nimkar, Dr. (Mrs.) Nirmala Chheda and Dr. G. S. Bedagkar. These stories are grouped in 4 Sections thus; (A) Legends of famous persons 1-16; (B) Biographical Sketches 17-21; (C) Tales of Wit and Wisdom 22-87 and (D) The Twelth Voyage of Makandi Brothers and other Tales 88-124.

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Important and very useful studied notes on these stories are furnished in as many as 37 pages. Their basic sources are indicated in these notes. In an Appendix is given a Bibliography of 20 books. Finally it furnished necessary information regarding the Art Contributors.

The Prakrit narrative literature is probably the richest among world literatures, but it is poorly known to the people at large. And what is available in English is still meagre. These stories reflect various social, religious and economic conditions and as such this volume is sure to be welcomed and appreciated by both scholars as well as lovers of Indian Classical literatures

Wherever necessary, a descriptive but brief note is given at the beginning of the story in order to bring out its hearing on life.

Some of these stories contain many popular themes and some even occur in other Indian and non-Indian literatures, forming part of the common treasury of universal literature. Most of them relate old stories handed down through literary or popular tradition. The only significant addition made by the Jaina tellers is the sermon at the end trying to explain the Cause or Causes for the good or bad fortune of the characters concerned. The editor rightly states that the Jaina monks, being very shrewd and practical-minded, exploited the Indian people's inborn love for stories for the propagation of their religion. Any how the stories may well be regarded as quite important from the point of view of the migration of stories and a comparative study of the fairy-tale lore.

Some striking traits of these stories may be enumerated as under:

(a) Pages after pages are devoted to the past and future births,
(b) The inexorable law of *Karman* plays a very conspicuous role,
(c) Sermons with dogmatic details are introduced.
(d) Parables and illustrative tales are added here and there, and
(e) Almost as a rule every here retires from the world in order to attain better status in the next birth.

In a scholarly Introduction of about 40 pages the learned editor has given a clear idea about the Indian Narrative Literature, Kathā and its varieties in Prakrit texts as also in Sanskrit treatises on Poetics. He has also furnished thereafter a brief survey of the Jaina narrative literature especially of the Śwetāmbaras. That of the Digāmbaras has been reserved by him for another volume.

The legend of MALLI (No. 28), the only female Tīrthaṅkara, is a peculiar one. Of wondrous beauty, she is a princess of Mithilā. After observing just her big toe, an artist painted a portrait of MALLI, at the sight of which a prince fell in love with her. This picture motif reminds us of the Buddhist stories of the artist Kuśa, son of king Okkāka.

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Regarding the 6th story viz., that of BRAHMADATTA Dr. G. S. Bedagkar remarks. " This unforunate young man who inherits " the sin of sensuality from his mother and continues to suffer over two or three life times is subjected to a lit or ironic treatment. The story in some parts has the Oedipus. Hamlet framework and the end is almost like that of Oedipus who has his eyes gouged. The final scene, however, should not blot out the sincere affection that had tried to save the poor young man whose end is pathetic " (p. 36).

The next is the story of AGADADATTA, regarding which, again, Dr. Bedagkar says; " The story which in fact is one of prince investigation describes through its symbolic method Criminals and criminal minds. The lonely roads, dark nights, underground dwellings, dilapidated temples and unused well are very effectively used. However, the story is a typical account of a talented young man in search of an opportunity to make his life ", (p. 54).

No. 13 is the story of *Draupadī* about which Winternitz remarks: " This is a monkish corruption of the legend from the *Mahābhārata* of Draupadī's marriage to the five brothers ". (*A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 448). Her polyandrous marraige has given rise to much criticism and much explanation. It brings in a hereditory drawback much in the style of the French novelist Emile Zola. The *Rāmāyaṇasque* abduction is really an interesting episode.

No. 88 the story of the twelfth Voyage of Makandi Brothers can easily find a place in the Voyage, Literature of the world. Like Homer's Odysseus the two brothers muta mercilers circe and, in spite of the fabulous Arabian Nights atmosphere, get involved in a terribly haunting scene of temptation. The grim struggle between passion and wisdom is not easy to forget.

It is an excellent book and this is the first in a series of at least there such Collections. We may eagerly await the publication of the next volume. It was a long felt desideratum to make the Jaina Tales available in English. It is partly fulfilled by the book under review for which the editor and the publisher deserve our Congratulations and Thanks!

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JAYANT P. THAKER

Narasiṁhapurāṇam (Text with English Translation and Notes) by Dr. SIDDHESWAR JENA; published by Nag Publishers, Delhi 110007; First Edition 1987; Price Rs 400/-; pp. 24+672+liv.

The *Nṛsiṁha-Purāṇa*, also known as *Narasiṁha-Purāṇa* as well as *Nārasiṁha-Purāṇa* (=NP), is one of the oldest Upapurāṇas. It finds a mention

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in the Matsya-Purāṇa (53.60-63), which is one of the older *mahāpurāṇas*. It is a Vaiṣṇava *Upapurāṇa* devoted to the glorification of Narasiṁha who is one of the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu.

Upapurāṇas constitute a sizable bulk of the rich Purāṇic literature. There are a very few studies and translations of the Upapurāṇas. There are two volumes on Upapurāṇas by Dr. R. C. Hazra under the title: "*Studies in Upapurāṇas*." Dr. Jena published in 1987 his doctorate research-work under the title: "*The Narasiṁha Purāṇa: A Study*," (It was reviewed in this Journal Vol. XXXIX, Nos. 1-2; September-December 1989 issued in 1991, by the present reviewer) and he has also published the text of the NP with English translation and notes. The Nirnaya-Sagar Press, Bombay (=NSP) brought out the second edition of the NP in 1911 having 68 chapters. It is based on three manuscripts about which no information is given. (*Vide* also Kane P. V., A Histroy of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V, Part II; p. 878). "This is a very careless edition," observes Dr. R. C. Hazra (Studies in Upapurāṇas, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1958, p. 219), but it is interesting and significant to note that he follows it in his above said book. The Gita Press, Gorakhpur has also published the text of the NP with Hindi translation in its "Kalyāṇa"-magazine (1971). Both these editions are now not easily available. It is quite in the fitness of things that Dr. Jena has given this edition with English translation with scanty notes wherever deemed necessary. The book under review is decorated with a nice "Foreword" by Professor Dr. H. V. Stietenchron (pt. 7-8). "It is followed in turn by the author's preface, detailed contents of the NP, the "Introduction" (pp 19-24) having discussion on the numerical problem of the *mahā-purāṇas* and a brief note on the contents of the NP.

The "Introduction" is followed by the Sanskrit text in the Devanāgarī script with a stanzawise translation and notes below the Sanskrit text. The translation is lucid, running and readable. The text with the said translation is followed by a useful verse-index (pp. i-liv).

Dr. Jena finds the Gita-Press edition "more accurate and correct in contrast to the Nirnaya Sagar Press edition" and therefore he has "depended more on the former than on the latter," (*ibid.*, Preface, p. 10). Dr. R. C. Hazra refers to several manuscripts of the NP (*ibid*, pp. 219 ff. *vide* also Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 878). One feels, therefore, that Dr. Jena could have brought out the critical edition of the NP with English translation; because it is a well-known dictum that "critically edited texts of Sanskrit works are the *sine qua non* of any serious study and research relating to the texts," (Dandekar R. N., foreword, p. 3 to "*Vedic Texts: A Revision*" "*Professor C. G. Kashikar Felicitation-Volume*" edited by T. N. Dharmadhikari & others, Delhi, 1990)

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While depending on the Gita-Press-edition the defective and variant readings of the NP are relegated by Dr. Jena to footnotes, as and when necessary (*vide ibid.*, Preface, p. 10). Stanzas not accepted in the given text, but having variant readings are given as footnotes in the Roman script without translation (*vide ibid, e.g.* p. 18). Spurious stanzas are neither noted nor translated (*vide ibid., e.g.* p 79). It is felt that they should have been given as footnotes or in a separate appendix. Stanzas given as footnotes could have been given in the *Devanāgarī*-script to maintain the uniformity of the text-presentation. They could have been translated for the benefit of non-Sanskrit researchers and students as Purāṇas are now, being consulted by them in interdisciplinary studies in view of the changed attitude towards Purāṇic studies.

The author and the Nag Publishers deserve our hearty congratulations for presenting this edition and rendering the approach to the NP very easy. We look forward to have from Dr. Jena the critical edition of the NP with the English translation (revised as and where necessary). Let us wish and hope that the author discusses, if possible, all textual problems connected with the critical edition of the NP in his forthcoming monograph. " Textual correlation of the Narasiṁha-Purāṇa with other Purāṇas and Texts." We wish further that this monograph is available as early as possible to the students and researchers in the areas of Purāṇic studies in particular and of Sanskritic and Indological studies in general.

Vadodara-1 S. G. KANTAWALA

A Survey of Hinduism, by KLAUS K. KLOSTERMAJER, Pub , State University of New York Press. Albany, 1989, pp. i-xv+1-649, Price, paper $ 18.95 cloth $ 56.60

The present book is selective yet comprehensive study of an ancient tradition – extremely complex by nature-that is still living and perhaps contains something that may hold a hope for the redemption of humanity as a whole in future. It is striking as it comes from a facile and powerful pen of one who is outsider to the tradition and still has an amazing grasp of the profundity and variety of the tradition, called Hinduism. It is a sympathetic attempt of a Western scholar who hears love for the tradition its past and present life and thought and has a rich experience of its functioning at present. It therefore provides an accurate outline of Hinduism for a Western reader and a refreshing revision for an Indian reader. According to the author " because of its nature as a ' rolling conference of conceptual spaces,' and the constant interaction among

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all its facets, it is important for us to gain first an overall view, to provide a survey rather than an in-depth study of one system or one set of concepts that can conveniently be called Hinduism." (Intro. p. 4).

Further, " In this book, the attempt is made to describe Hinduism as the living tradition of the Hindus, a tradition with its logic and with a purpose of its own. The intention is to portray Hinduism in such a way that contemporary Hindus would be able to recognize themselves in it and outsiders would be helped to understand something of this tradition which is alien to them but about which they are curious." (Intro. p. 5)

As the peoples of the modern world are inter-connected by networks of trade and commerce, political and economic alliances and large scale migration of population such studies of other cultures are no more a hobby of academics but rather should become a component of general education. It is no more advisable to consider various races and cultures as eternally immovable barriers, if we intend to promote among us a sense of belonging to one humankind-a new phase of evolution-devolved on us by circumstances.

The book makes an interesting, stimulating and informative reading, with objective and therefore authentic array of facts about ancient and modern Hindu life and thought. It is divided into two parts: the first deals with its development and essence and the second with *tr̥imārga:* the three paths to liberation, also covering the modern reforms and reformers as well as Hindu nationalist politics and the prospect of Hinduism as World Religion.

The weighty contents are supported and made easily comprehensible by numerous illustrations, to be exact, thirty drawings and thirtyfive photographs. In addition to informative notes, the glossary, the bibliography and the Index enrich the volume from the viewpoint of academic usefulness and value.

Vadodara R. T. VYAS

The Veda and Indian Culture: An Introductory Essay, by KIREET JOSHI. pub. Rashtriya Veda Vidya Pratishthana in association with M/s. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1991, pp. i-vi + 1 = - 115, Price: Rs. 45/-.

This little booklet is meant for the Western beginners to understand some leading, basic elements of the Vedic literature and their influence in shaping the Indian culture. The subject is vast and it is inevitable that a small write-up cannot aspire to do justice to the varied topics involved in study.

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However, in this humble attempt too the author has presented some insights into certain critical and complex issues of Indian culture. He has also dealt with the problem of the relevance of ancient wisdom to the modern mode of life.

Appendix-i " The Rishi and the Brahmacharin ", appendix-ii " Important Landmarks of Indian History " Appendix-iii, " A Note on the Vedic Literature ", and the Bibliography and Indext have enhanced the value of the work.

V. Sodara R. T. VYAS

The Doctrine of the Upaniṣads and the Early Buddhism, by HERMANN OLDENBERG, Tr. by SHRIDHAR B. SHROTRI, Pub. Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1991, pp. i–x + 1 – 226, Price: Rs. 225/-.

The book was first published in 1908 A.D. It aims at finding close links of thinking and religious practices, especially the praxis called *Yogā*, between the Upaniṣads and early Buddhism. In the Introduction, the author attempts to give a rapid survey of the geographial and social conditions and the stage of religio-philosophical thinking and practices in the Vedic age in ancient India. In this period of the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, a cult of sacrifice rose to prominence and the priest occupied the foremost position. In all there are three chapters in this book. In the first chapter there is discussion regarding the philosophical thought enshrined in the older Upaniṣads, namely, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. In this era the concept of a supreme Being, a unique mystic power conceived in terms of *Brahman* and *Ātman*, originated. The idea of metempsychosis also was conceived. During this period, the priest of the sacrifice shows in him the sign of philosopher. In chapter two, the author discusses the contents of later Upaniṣads, such as the *Kāthaka Upaniṣad*, the *Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad* and the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, and shows how during this period, the basic doctrines of *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* evolved. Herein the ultimate aim of human endeavour was conceived in terms of freedom from suffering, a theme adopted by Buddha himself In the final phase of this period, one can clearly discern the development of thought from the impersonal natural powers to a personal god Chapter three shows how the early Buddhism was influenced by the duality of *Sāṅkhya* and how *Yoga*, especially various methods of meditation, held sway over the early followers of Buddha, though Buddhism outright rejected the theological and ritualistic overtones of the Vedic, Brahmanic period, and also gave rise to several independent lines of philosophical thinking and new meditational methods. It is to the credit of Buddhism to

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democratise the path leading to salvation and the formation of a compact community of monks with its well-defined rules of conduct and sure methods of meditation, eventually holding a hope for leading one and all to the supreme height of *bodhi* enlightenment—a perspective of universal awakening—,delivering humanity from the fetters of suffering.

The index at the end of the book enriches it and makes it more useful for students and scholars alike.

Vadodara

R. T. VYAS

The Debate of King Milinda, by BHIKKHU PESALA, Pub. Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1991, pp. i-xx + 1 - 125, Price: Rs. 125/-.

This is the fourteenth book in the Buddhist Tradition Series under the general editorship of ALEX WAYMAN. It is an abridgement of the famous Buddhist work entitled "*The Milinda Pañhā*" or the questions of king Milinda of which the answers are provided by an accomplished Buddhist Monk Nāgasena. The present English translation is an improvement upon T. W. Rhys David's translation of the work in it full extent published as volumes XXXV and XXXVI of the Sacred Books of the East Series. Though the earlier English translation was made very carefully and intelligently, still a revision was needed so far as certain Buddhist technical terms were concerned. Another English rendering was published in 1969.

The work is an ancient great Buddhist classic which expounds basic issues of Buddhist tradition related to its philosophical, ethical and practical meditational tenets that are perennially important. Its format is that of a dialogue and is therefore very absorbing.

The earlier two English translations were mainly literal and therefore useful to scholars. The present one is a free rendering more appealing to the general reader, as it clarifies certain key concepts in an easily comprehensible manner.

For those who are interested in eliminating their mental defilements and are inclined to achieve enlightenment, the book will be of great help.

The glossary of Buddhist technical terms in Pālī, the quotations, the bibliography and the two indexes added at the end of the work enrich it from the academic view-point.

Vadodara

R. T. VYAS

Nityasutre (by Swāmī Nityānanda) by Dr. S. M. BHATKHANDE, First Edition, April, 1993, Pub. Balayogi Shri Sadanand Maharaj Ashram Sanstha, Tungareshvar Parashuram Kunde, Ta. Vasaj Dist. Thana pp. I-vi + 1-122 Price: Rs. 35/-

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This Marathi translation of *Nityasūtrāṇi* (pub. 1996) by the author is to be welcomed by lovers and scholars of Indology in general. Those interested in philosophy, especially in practising *Bhaktimārga*, indeed usher in a simple but new dimension.

In twentieth century a number of saints flourished, received honour, became popular and captured the masses. Swāmī Nityānanda is one of them. He received tremendous fame and respect from the people. Swāmiji achieved amazing *Siddhis*. My revered Guru Nanamaharaja Taranekar from Indore had experienced Nityānandā's mastery over the miraculous power. It is mentioned in " *martaṇḍa mahima* ".—

" क्षणैक चिंतुनी मानसी । नाना विनविती नित्यानंदांसी ।
स्वामी सांगावे एका श्लोकासी । विवरणे स्पष्ट करोनी जरा ॥
अर्थ वदती अवघेच परी । कृती दावावी अपूर्व खरी ।
विनविती नाना अंतरी । तो श्रोते क्षणार्धात ।
स्वामी बैसल्या आसनी पावत । अन्तर्धान तेथेचि स्तिमित ।
नानादृष्टी बावरली । तो ध्वनि भिंतीतून सत्य ।
येऊ लागले समोरल्या । "

Swamiji favoured so many devotees, imparted knowledge to them in the regional language. Thereby *jñāna* prevailed among the simple hearted probably among uneducated men.

The author of the book always being in contact with Revered Nityānanda Swāmi noted down his precious teachings and formulated them in the *sūtra* form following the traditional style.

Not even that, the scholar has commented upon them in a lucid language, citing examples from various sources. Thus he has made people understand that thing which in fact is difficult to grasp to a common man. The author thought to write in vernacular since his friends requested him, perhaps thinking such worthy thoughts should not be restricted to a particular class. A common man should take advantage of Swāmiji's knowledge, which really directs to *mokṣa*.

The present work projects an exhaustive and deep study of *Brahmasūtras* as well as *Bhagavadgītā* and *Upaniṣads*. The translation may be evaluated in this field from all perspectives. It is divided into twelve chapters namely *Jñānajijñāsa, Dehaviveka, Sādhakādhikāra, Manovaśyata, Gurupradīpa, Avidyālakṣaṇa, Oṁkāraswarūpa, Bhaktigarimā, Karmasiddhānta, Yogaswarūpa, Muktalakṣaṇa and Ātmavedana.*

From the nature of the contents of the *sūtras*, it is evident that the *sūtras* have been compiled in such a form that they cover all the extant religious and theological principles Moreover the study of the *sūtras* trains the mind of a devotee. It is a means/path to cross the mundane world, similarly motivates the seeker for emancipation.

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Some of the features highlighted in the present book are worth noticing. They may be cited as follows:

I. The titles of the *sūtras* remind us of the verses from *Bhagavadgītā*: (1) त्रिविधं कर्म (p. 48), (2) कर्मणैव संसिद्धिः (p. 84, 85), (3) सततं जागर्ति (p. 104), (4) ज्ञानिनां हि न वयः समीक्ष्यते (p. 29), (5) यथा कूर्मोऽङ्गानि (p. 27) ।

II. The format of the *sūtras* coincides with the style of the *Brahmasūtras*, viz.

मायापिहितं सत्यम्	(p. 69)
श्रुतत्वाच्च	(p. 39)
दर्शनाच्च	(p. 108)
नित्यमध्यात्मज्ञानम्	(p. 36)

The composition of the *sūtras* follows Śaṅkarācārya's style, namely,

मायातः रक्षणं यथा पर्जन्यात् । मुक्तिर्नाम स्वरूपज्ञानमैक्यं च । जीवो ब्रह्मैव ।

III. A reader who goes through the book, finds that preachings are quite easily understandable on account of appropriate illustrations from day to day life e.g.

शकटमिव । आत्माऽन्वेष्टव्यः (12.1; p. 114)

आत्मा वासनाभिरावृत्तो यथाऽऽदित्योमेघैः (12.7 p. 117)

अलंकृता तनूश्चित्रिता भित्तिः । (2.5; p. 41)

भक्तिः क्षीरवत् । (8.5; p. 79)

विना भक्तिं वृथा जन्म जलं विना घटो यथा । (8.7; p. 80)

An inquisitive reader would get a thorough acquaintance with *Upaniṣadic* examples after having read this book. In this context the systematic presentation of the subject matter adds to the value of this translation. It also reflects the author's scholarship who has lived and understood the philosophy. In several cases, while discussing and explaining the contents, the treatment has been very practical.

Having overviewed the text, it is apparent that the author has not given attention to a famous *upaniṣadic* metaphor which would have enhanced the prominent feature of the work. I would like to supplement the illustration from *Mu. dakopaniṣad* 2:2:3 and 2:2:4.

धनुर्गृहीत्वौपनिषदं महास्त्रं
शरं ह्युपासानिशितं सन्धयीत ।
आयम्य तद्भावगतेन चेतसा
लक्ष्यं तदेवाक्षरं सोम्य विद्धि ।

The citation is an excellent example of how a seeker has to proceed on his path who is striving for salvation. The *ṛṣi* frequently advises to meditate on *om* or *praṇava*. The author of present translation has dealt with *Omkāropāsanā* in

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his book, still the comparison of *Om* with a bow is overlooked though he has given various significant examples to make the philosophy easily digestible from the point of a devotee Further in the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, the *ṛṣi* remarkably asserts, the symbol in the words. *Om* is the bow and the soul is an arrow. The target of the soul is Brahman. *Om* is the means with which the final goal is to be hit.

viz. प्रणवो धनुः शरो आत्मा
ब्रह्म तल्लक्ष्यमुच्यते ।
अप्रमत्तेन वेद्धव्यं
शरवत् तन्मयो भवेत् ॥

The ultimate goal of an individual soul is to forget his identity and experience divine bliss.

No doubt the author combines in himself the unique qualifications of a Sanskrit scholar and a devoted (*bhakta*) to a *Guru*. The result is in the hands of readers.

The author Dr. Bhatkhande and the publisher deserve all praise for having brought out the *Nityasūtras* in a regional language.

Baroda VAIJAYANTI SHETE

Highways and Byways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit : by Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. KUPPUSWAMI ŚASTRI. Published by the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, 1993. First edition 1946. Reprint 1993; pp. 78+Index 16 pages. Price Rs. 25/-

The work under review consists of the four lectures delivered by Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastri during 23rd to 26th of January 1931 at the Annamalai University. These Lectures were first brought out as a booklet in 1945 by the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute. Owing tc its wide use by scholars and students in various universities in India and outside, selections from the book were included in *An Introduction to Indian Poetics* ed. by Dr. V. Raghavan and Nagendra. (Macmillan and Co, 1970). Dr, S. S. Janki, Adviser of the K.S.R. Institute informs us in her Preface that the Institute received requests for brīnging out a photo-offset of the said booklet in the original hand format for many years. Thus, the present booklet, reprinted in 1993, is the outcome of the sincere efforts of the authorities of the K.S.R. Institute of Madras.

MM. Kuppuswami Śastri was a wellknown scholar in the world of Sanskrit, in both the branches of learning, the *Śastras* and the *Kāvyas*. He held the authority to reveal the secrects of both with equal mastery. Here is a unique combination

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of an honest investigator and a soft-hearted poet. In fact, Dhvanyāloka, the great classic on the topic of *dhvani*, which could be found only in abscure and inaccurate texts, was by him first examined with care and given to the world in a correct edition. The present booklet, may be said to be the ripe fruit of the unsparing pains he took in the field of Sanskrit poetics.

In the very first lecture he gives a clear idea about the two important words he has used in the title of the book, viz, ' Highway ' and ' Byway '. He says that he has used both the words in their ordinary sense; that is–' Highway means a public way, a well-known way, which one might follow in order to reach some definite goal and the word Byway is used in its general sense; a route that is subordinate to the highway. Further the author has explained the scope, aim and function of literary criticism. The second lecture brings out the synthesis of *Law* and *Liberty* in this field. He elaborates the point by quoting Rabindranatha Tagore. The daigram, on the coverpage of the book, brings out the exact position, of all the important basic concepts like *Rasa, Aucityam, Guṇa, Vakrokti, Riti,* etc. in literary criticism. The third lecture amplifies some remarks, he has made in the previous one, regarding *vyañjanā*, To bring out the concept of ' Suggestion ' clearly, the author quotes the famous definition given by Jespersen, " suggestion is the impression of suppression. *Vyañjanā* is an artistic process, because it gives us an impression, not of mechanical type but a delicate impression described as an artistic thrill " In the concluding lecture, the author draws our attention to the comprehensive statement of Abhinavagupta regarding *Guṇa, Rīti,* and *Alaṅkāras,* in his commentary, *Locana* as—

द्विविधं चारुत्वम्—स्वरूपमात्रनिष्ठं, संघटनाश्रितं च । तत्र शब्दानां स्वरूपमात्रकृतं चारुत्वं शब्दालङ्कारेभ्यः, संघटनाश्रितं शब्दगुणेभ्यः । *Locana* p. 41, KSRI ed.

Here, the author of our book avails of the opportunity of discussing the views of the pioneers of various schools of poetics and concludes with the remark " It is the synthesis of the artist and the art critic; of the poet and the responsive critic; of criticism and the genius, it is this synthesis that may be regarded as the highway of highways in Indian literary criticism ".

The booklet is enriched with a short Preface by Dr. S. S. Janaki, Adviser of the Institute and Foreward by Dr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the President of the Institute. The authorities of the Institute deserve many thanks for bringing out the reprint of such scholarly lectures.

Baroda V. S. LELE

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Nyāyakūsumāñjalivikāsaḥ of Gopīnātha Maunī, Edited by RAMACHANDRA DWIVEDI, Published by Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Jaipur-302015 1992, First Edition, pp. 24 + 204, Price Rs 70/-.

Nyāyakusumāñjali is one of the outstanding works of Udayanācārya, who had the supreme privilege of occupying the threshold to ring out the old and usher the new age of the Nyāya system of logic by his monumental works. It is an independent work which attempts to prove the existence of *Īśvara* by logical reasonings and ardent arguments refuting the views of the Cārvākas, Mīmāṁsakas, Baudhas, Jainas and Sāṅkhyas in five *stavakas*. Because of its critical nature and dialectical presentation, this work has a good number of commentaries which enhance the popularity of the work and help to the critical students of Navya-Nyāya abundantly in understanding the subtle nuances of Udayanācārya's profound thoughts and critical arguments.

The work under review is an erudite commentary entitled *Nyāyakusumāñjalīvikāsa* of Gopīnātha Maunī (17th centuary A.D.) of Āmerarājya on the *Kusumāñjali* of Udayana. This commentary is comprehensive and not limited to the elucidation of the meaning of *kārikā*s of the *Kusumāñjali*. Its illustrious author has exhibited his deep erudition and critical insights in explaining clearly the controversial issues by adding his own ideas and makes significant contribution. For the first time Prof. R. C. Dwivedi, who is well-known in the field of Sanskrit scholarship for his rich contribution, explored the work and edited it carefully. This edition is based on two Mss. collected from the Pothikhānā of Jayapur and the Oriental Institute of Baroda. Dr. Dwivedi has added a long introduction in Sanskrit. Containing a survey of the main ideas of the *kārikā*s, and *kārikānukramaṇī*, *Ṭīkākārakṛtapadyānukramaṇī*, *Udāharaṇānukramaṇī*, *Granthakārādyanukramaṇī*, and *Pāṭhabhedas*. It is a unique contribution to Indian philosophy and the philosophy of Navya Nyāya. The book is well-produced and will prove to be very useful to the students and scholars working in the field of Navya-Nyāya.

Dr. Dwivedi deserves our hearty congratulations for his great efforts in bringing out a beautiful edition of a valuable work.

Vadodara

R. K. PANDA

Restoration of the Original Language of Ardhamāgadhī Texts [on the basis of available older Textual Variants]—by Dr. K. R. CHANDRA, Published by Prakrit Jain Vidya Vikas Fund, 375, Sarasvati Nagar, Near Azad Society, Ahmedabad-380 015; 1994, Pages 24 + 140 + 1 Photo-plate; Price: Rs. 80/-.

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A highly commendable endeavour is made here for the restoration of the original language of the Ardhamāgadhī Texts. A sample study is made of the different variants of ten words selected at random from the *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, Part I, which is considered the oldest portion of the Ardhamāgadhī Canons. An excellent analysis is furnished in the form of several tables. A study of this analysis reveals a gradual process of, so to say, Śaurasenization and later on Mahārāṣṭrization of the original language. This may have taken place due to passage of time, migration from Eastern India to Western India, carelessness on the part of copyists and readers and efforts to make the language easily intelligible to the people of those later times. In the tables a comparison is also made with similar old word-forms from four other published older Ardhamāgadhī Texts in order to have an idea of how far older forms could be traced.

This is just a sample study. Further scanning of old word-forms from available manuscripts of the Ardhamāgadhī Canons would enable the editors to restore the original character of the Ardhamāgadhī language. Some such words are given by Dr. Chandra in the later part of the book. Stray, isolated archaic forms preserved in manuscripts and even printed editions are suggestive pointers giving a glympse of the original language. The original Ardhamāgadhī forms were undoubtedly nearer to those of Sanskrit and Pāli, of which latter is indeed *Prakrit par excellence*.

Dr Chandra is on the right path and deserves our congratulations for his enthusiastic and untiring critical work in this crucial area of Jaina studies It will indeed be worth-while to re-edit critically the Āgama texts in the light of Dr Chandra's excellent researches, restoring original forms as far as possible.

Vadodara J. P. THAKER

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14. *Sri Tattvasandarbha* : Tra. by Satya Narayana Dasa, pp. xxviii+424, Price : Rs. 495-00.
15. *Bhagavad-Gita :* by Ramananda Prasad, pp. xxii+329,Price : Rs. 50-00.
16. The *Farjuna-i-Manakutuhala and Risala-i-Ragadarpana* : by Nawab Sail Khan, pp. LXV+314, Price : Rs. 500-00.

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महाकाले संहारकाले । महाकाल्या महामारीस्वरूपयैतद्[१०] ब्रह्माण्डं व्याप्य सैव स्थितिं करोति ।

भवकाले नृणां सैव लक्ष्मीर्वृद्धिप्रदा गृहे ।
सैवाभावे तथालक्ष्मीर्विनाशायोपजायते ॥ ३७ ॥

भवकाले भूतिकाले । स्व(सैवा)भावेऽसंपत्तौ ।

स्तुता संपूजिता पुष्पैर्धूपगन्धादिभिस्तथा ।
ददाति वित्तं पुत्रांश्च मतिं धर्मे गतिं शुभाम् ॥ ३८ ॥

इति श्रीमार्कण्डेयपुराणे देव्याश्चरितमाहात्म्यं नाम द्वादशोऽध्यायः ॥ १२ ॥

इति श्रीनीलाम्बराचार्यकृतायां सप्तशत्याः टीकायां द्वादशोऽध्यायः ॥ १२ ॥

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१० B ब्रह्मांडं.

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॥ त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः ॥

ऋषिरुवाच—

एतत्ते कथितं भूप देवीमाहात्म्यमुत्तमम् ॥ १ ॥

एवंप्रभावा सा देवी ययेदं धार्यते जगत् ।
विद्या तथैव क्रियते भगवद्विष्णुमायया ॥ २ ॥

तया त्वमेष वैश्यश्च तथैवान्ये विवेकिनः ।
मोह्यन्ते मोहिताश्चैव मोहमेष्यन्ति चापरे ॥ ३ ॥

तामुपैहि महाराज शरणं परमेश्वरीम् ।
आराधिता सैव नृणां भोगस्वर्गापवर्गदा ॥ ४ ॥

तया यदि सर्वे मोह्यन्ते । तदानिर्मोक्षप्रसङ्ग इत्याह—तामुपैहीति । शरणं रक्षाकारिणीम् । शरण[1]मित्याविष्टलिङ्गं परमेश्वरीविशेषणम् । तामुपैहीति । तां शरणमाश्रयेत्यर्थः । भोगो विषयानु[2]भवः स्वर्गः सुखमपवर्गो मोक्षः ।

मार्कण्डेय उवाच—

इति तस्य वचः श्रुत्वा सुरथः स नराधिपः ।
प्रणिपत्य महाभागं तमृषिं शंसितव्रतम् ॥ ५ ॥

निर्विण्णोऽतिममत्वेन राज्यापहरणेन च ।
जगाम सद्यस्तपसे स च वैश्यो महामुने ॥ ६ ॥

शंसितव्रतम् । निर्वेदमापन्नः ।

संदर्शनार्थमम्बाया नदीपुलिनमास्थितः ।
स च वैश्यस्तपस्तेपे देवीसूक्तं परं जपन् ॥ ७ ॥

तौ तस्मिन् पुलिने देव्याः कृत्वा मूर्तिं महीमयीम् ।
अर्हणां चक्रतुस्तस्याः पुष्पधूपाग्नितर्पणैः ॥ ८ ॥

निराहारौ यताहारौ तन्मनस्कौ समाहितौ ।
ददतुस्तौ बलिं चैव निजगात्रासृगुक्षितम् ॥ ९ ॥

यताहारौ[3] परिमिताहारौ । तन्मनस्कौ तदर्पितचित्तौ । एकप्रत्ययप्रवाहेन चिन्तयन्तौ । निजगात्रासृजा रक्तेनोक्षितम् ।

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१ B वि. २ B भु. ३ B रो.

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एवं समाराधयतोस्त्रिभिर्वर्षैर्यतात्मनोः ।
परितुष्टा जगद्धात्री प्रत्यक्षं प्राह चण्डिका ॥ १० ॥

प्रत्यक्षमुपेत्येति शेषः । क्रियाविशेषणं वा ।

देव्युवाच—

यत्प्रार्थ्यते त्वया भूप त्वया च कुलनन्दन ।
मत्तस्तत्प्राप्यतां सर्वं परितुष्टा ददामि वाम् ॥ ११ ॥

मार्कण्डेय उवाच—

ततो वव्रे नृपो राज्यमविभ्रंश्यन्यजन्मनि ।
अत्रापि च निजं राज्यं हतशत्रुबलं बलात् ॥ १२ ॥

अन्यजन्मन्यविभ्रंश्यविचलितं राज्यं वव्रे [५]याचितवान् । अत्रेहलोके निजं स्वकीयं राज्यम् । हतशत्रुबलमिति विशेषणात् शत्रुवध्यो(धो)ऽपि याचितः । अत एवोक्तं—'हत्वा रिपूनस्खलितम्' (दे.मा. १३.१४) इति ।

सोऽपि वैश्यस्ततो ज्ञानं वव्रे निर्विण्णमानसः ।
ममेत्यहमिति प्राज्ञः सङ्गविच्युतिकारकम् ॥ १३ ॥

निर्विण्णमानसो विविक्तचित्तः । ज्ञानं तत्त्वज्ञानम् । ममेत्यस्याहमित्यस्य च सङ्गः संबन्धः । तस्य च्युतिकारणम्—वियोगकारणम् । ममेत्यहमिति संसारबीजम् । [६]तदाहुः—"अनात्म[७]न्यात्मबुद्धिर्या अस्वे स्वमित्यविद्या । चारु संसृतिबीजमेतद् द्विधा स्थितम् ।"

देव्युवाच—

स्वल्पैरहोभिर्नृपते स्वं राज्यं प्राप्स्यते भवान् ।
हत्वा रिपूनस्खलितं तव तत्र भविष्यति ॥ १४ ॥

मृतश्च भूयः संप्राप्य जन्म देवाद्विवस्वतः ।
सावर्णिको नाम मनुर्भवान्भुवि भविष्यति ॥ १५ ॥

वैश्यवर्य त्वया यश्च वरोऽस्मत्तोऽभिवाञ्छितः ।
तं प्रयच्छामि संसिद्ध्यै तव ज्ञानं भविष्यति ॥ १६ ॥

वैश्यस्य विवेकज्ञानितामुपश्रुत्य [७]वैश्यसंबोधनं वैश्यवर्येति । संसिद्ध्यै मोक्षाय । ज्ञानमखिल(लं) विद्याश्चेदि(ति) तत्त्वज्ञानम् ।

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४ B यावितवान्. ५ B तदाह. ६ B ends after अनात्म.
७ A वैश्य in marg.

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मार्कण्डेय उवाच—

इति दत्त्वा तयोर्देवी यथाभिलषितं वरम् ।
बभूवान्तर्हिता सद्यो भक्त्या ताभ्यामभिष्टुता ॥ १७ ॥

यथाभिलषितमभिलाषा[न]तिक्रमेण । भगवती हि सर्वदा समर्थाप्यभिलाषानतिक्रमेण ददातीत्युक्तम् ।

एवं देव्या वरं लब्ध्वा सुरथः क्षत्रियर्षभः ।
सूर्याज्जन्म समासाद्य सावर्णिर्भविता मनुः ॥ १८ ॥

इति श्रीमार्कण्डेयपुराणे सुरथवैश्ययोर्वरप्रदानं नाम त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः ॥ १३ ॥

देव्या वरं लब्ध्वा 'सूर्याज्जन्म समासाद्य (दे.मा. १३.१८)' 'मनुर्भविता (दे.मा. १३.१८)' इति वदतो देव्या वरलाभस्यामोघं सामर्थ्यमावेदितम् ।

इति श्रीनीलाम्बराचार्यकृतायां सप्तशत्यभिधभगवतीस्तोत्रस्य टीकायां
त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥ १३ ॥[८]

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८ A reads at the end श्रीपरमेश्वरार्पणमस्तु ।

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Appendix 1

The *Devīmāhātmyam* is generally preceded by three well-known *stotras*, namely, the *Devīkavacam*, the *Argalāstotram* and the *Devīkīlakastotram*. After the thirteen *adhyāyas* of the *Devīmāhātmyam*, the three *Rahasyas* are found in most of the mss. The commentator Nilāmbarācārya has commented only upon the thirteen *adhyāyas* of the *Devīmāhātmyam*. None of the two mss. of the commentary contains these six *Stotras*. They are, however, given in this appendix, as found in the printed books of the *Devīmāhātmyam*, for the benefit of scholars and general readers. (G=Gita Press, Gorakhpur; J=Book ed. by Prof. A. N. Jani, N=Nirnayasagar Press ed.).

(I) देवीकवचम

मार्कण्डेय उवाच—

यद्गुह्यं परमं लोके सर्वरक्षाकरं नृणाम् ।
यन्न कस्यचिदाख्यातं तन्मे ब्रूहि पितामह ॥ १ ॥

ब्रह्मोवाच—

अस्ति गुह्यतमं विप्र सर्वभूतोपकारकम् ।
देव्यास्तु कवचं पुण्यं तच्छृणुष्व महामुने ॥ २ ॥
प्रथमं [1]शैलपुत्रीति द्वितीयं ब्रह्मचारिणी ।
तृतीयं चन्द्रघण्टेति कूष्माण्डेति चतुर्थकम् ॥ ३ ॥
पञ्चमं स्कन्दमातेति षष्ठं कात्यायनीति च ।
सप्तमं काल[2]रात्रीति महागौरीति चाष्टमम् ॥ ४ ॥
नवमं [3]सिद्धिदा प्रोक्ता नवदुर्गाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
उक्तान्येतानि नामानि ब्रह्मणैव महात्मना ॥ ५ ॥
अग्निना दह्यमानस्तु शत्रुमध्ये गतो रणे ।
विषमे दुर्गमे चैव भयार्ताः शरणं गताः ॥ ६ ॥
न तेषां जायते किंचिदशुभं रणसंकटे ।
नापदं तस्य पश्यामि शोकदुःखभयं न हि ॥ ७ ॥
यैस्तु भक्त्या स्मृता नूनं तेषा[4]मृद्धिः प्रजायते ।[5]
प्रेतसंस्था तु चामुण्डा वाराही महिषासना ॥ ८ ॥

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१ G. शैलसुत्री च. २ J. N. रात्रिश्च for रात्रीति. ३ G. N. सिद्धिदात्री च for सिद्धिदा प्रोक्ता. ४ G. वृद्धिः; N. सिद्धिः for ऋद्धिः. ५ After 8ab, G. ins. : ये त्वां स्मरन्ति देवेशि रक्षसे तान्न संशयः ।

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ऐन्द्री गजसमारूढा वैष्णवी गरुडासना ।
माहेश्वरी वृषारूढा कौमारी शिखिवाहना ॥ ९ ॥[६]

ब्राह्मी हंससमारूढा सर्वाभरणभूषिता ।[७]
नानाभरणशोभाढ्या नानारत्नोपशोभिताः ॥ १० ॥

दृश्यन्ते रथमारूढा देव्यः क्रोधसमाकुलाः ।
शङ्खं चक्रं गदां शक्तिं हलं च मुसलायुधम् ॥ ११ ॥

खेटकं तोमरं चैव परशुं पाशमेव च ।
कुन्तायुधं त्रिशूलं च [८]शार्ङ्गायुधमनुत्तमम् ॥ १२ ॥

दैत्यानां देहनाशाय भक्तानामभयाय च ।
धारयन्त्यायुधानीत्थं देवानां च हिताय वै ॥ १३ ॥[९]

महाबले महोत्साहे महाभयविनाशिनि ।
त्राहि मां देवि [१०]दुष्प्रेक्ष्ये शत्रूणां भयवर्धिनी ॥ १४ ॥

प्राच्यां रक्षतु मामैन्द्री आग्नेय्यामग्निदेवता ।
[११]दक्षिणे रक्ष वाराहि नैर्ऋत्यां खड्गधारिणी ॥ १५ ॥

प्रतीच्यां वारुणी रक्षेद्वायव्यां मृगवाहिनी ।
[१२]रक्षेदुदीच्यां कौमारी [१३]ईशान्यां शूलधारिणी ॥ १६ ॥

ऊर्ध्वं ब्रह्माणि मे रक्षेदधस्ताद्वैष्णवी तथा ।
एवं [१४]दश दिशो रक्षेच्चामुण्डा शववाहना ॥ १७ ॥

जया मे [१५]चाग्रतः [१६]स्थातु विजया [१७]स्थातु पृष्ठतः ।
अजिता वामपार्श्वे तु दक्षिणे चापराजिता ॥ १८ ॥

[१८]शिखामुद्योतिनी रक्षेदुमा मूर्ध्नि व्यवस्थिता ।
मालाधरी ललाटे च भ्रुवौ रक्षेद्यशस्विनी ॥ १९ ॥

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६ After 9, G. ins. : लक्ष्मीः पद्मासना देवी पद्महस्ता हरिप्रिया ।
श्वेतरूपधरा देवी ईश्वरी वृषवाहना ॥

७ After 10ab, G. ins. : इत्येता मातरः सर्वाः सर्वयोगसमन्विताः ।

८ GN शार्ङ्गमायुधमुत्तमम्. ९ After 13, G. ins : नमस्तेऽस्तु महारौद्रे महाघोरपराक्रमे.

१० Venk. दुःप्रेक्ष्ये. ११ GN दक्षिणेऽवतु वाराही; J दक्षिणस्यां च वाराही. १२ G उदीच्यां पातु कौमारी; JN उदीच्यां रक्ष कौबेरि. १३ G ऐशान्यां. १४ NV दशदिशो.

१५ N अग्रतः. १६ G पातु. १७ G पातु. १८ N शिखां मे द्योतिनी.

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त्रिनेत्रा च भ्रुवोर्मध्ये यमघण्टा च नासिके ।
शङ्खिनी चक्षुषो[१९]र्मध्ये श्रोत्रयोर्द्वारवासिनी ॥ २० ॥
कपोलौ कालिका रक्षेत्कर्णमूले तु [२०]शांकरी ।
नासिकायां सुगन्धा च उत्तरोष्ठे च चर्चिका ॥ २१ ॥
अधरे चामृतकला जिह्वायां [२१]तु सरस्वती ।
दन्तान्रक्षतु कौमारी कण्ठ[२२]मध्ये तु चण्डिका ॥ २२ ॥
घण्टिकां चित्रघण्टा च महामाया च तालुके ।
कामाक्षी चिबुकं रक्षेद्वाचं मे सर्वमङ्गला ॥ २३ ॥
ग्रीवायां भद्रकाली च पृष्ठवंशे धनुर्धरी ।
नीलग्रीवा बहिःकण्ठे नलिकां नलकूबरी ॥ २४ ॥
[२३]खड्गधारिण्युभौ स्कन्धौ बाहू मे वज्रधारिणी ।
हस्तयोर्दण्डिनी रक्षेदम्बिका [२४]चाङ्गुलीषु च ॥ २५ ॥
नखाञ्छूलेश्वरी रक्षे[२५]त्कुक्षौ रक्षे[२६]न्नलेश्वरी ।
स्तनौ रक्षे[२७]न्महादेवी [२८]मनः शोकविनाशिनी ॥ २६ ॥
[२९]हृदयं ललिता देवी [३०]उदरे शूलधारिणी ।
[३१]नाभिं च [३२]कामिनी रक्षेद् गुह्यं गुह्येश्वरी तथा ॥ २७ ॥
[३३]भूतनाथा च मेढ्रं [३४]च [३५]गुदं महिषवाहिनी ।
[३६]कट्यां भगवती रक्षेज्जानुनी विन्ध्यवासिनी ॥ २८ ॥
जङ्घे महाबला [३७]प्रोक्ता [३८]सर्वकामप्रदायिनी ।
गुल्फयोर्नारसिंही च पादपृष्ठे[३९]ऽमितौजसी ॥ २९ ॥
[४०]पादाङ्गुलीः श्रीधरी च पादाधस्तलवासिनी ।
[४१]नखान् [४२]दंष्ट्राः कराली च केशांश्चैवोर्ध्वकेशिनी ॥ ३० ॥

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१९ J युग्मं. २० V शंकरी. २१ JN च. २२ G देशे. २३ G स्कन्धयोः खड्गिनी रक्षेद्. २४ N चाङ्गुलीस्तथा. २५ J कक्षौ. २६ G कुलेश्वरी. २७ N महालक्ष्मीर्. २८ NV मनःशोक°... २९ N हृदयं. ३० V ह्युदरे. ३१ GN नाभौ. ३२ J कमलिनी चैव. ३३ G पूतना कामिका मेढ्रं गुदे ३४ N मे. ३५ N ऊरू मे मेघवाहिनी. ३६ N transp. कट्यां etc. as ab & भूतनाथा as cd. ३७ G रक्षेत्. ३८ V जानुमध्ये विनायकी. ३९ G तु तैजसी, N तेजसी ४० G पादाङ्गुलीषु श्री रक्षेत्. ४१ J दंष्ट्राः करालिनी रक्षेत्. ४२ GN दंष्ट्राकराली.

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रोम[४३]कूपाणि कौबेरी त्वचं वागीश्वरी तथा ।
रक्तमज्जावसामांसान्यस्थिमेदांसि पार्वती ॥ ३१ ॥

[४४]अन्त्राणि [४५]कालरात्रिश्च [४६]पित्तं च मुकुटेश्वरी ।
पद्मावती पद्मकोशे कफे चूडामणिस्तथा ॥ ३२ ॥

ज्वालामुखी [४७]नख[४८]ज्वालाममेद्या सर्वसन्धिषु ।
शुक्रं [४९]ब्रह्माणि मे रक्षेच्छायां छत्रेश्वरी तथा ॥ ३३ ॥

अहंकारं मनो बुद्धिं [५०]रक्ष मे [५१]धर्मचारिणी ।
प्राणापानौ तथा [५२]व्यान[५३]समानोदानमेव च ॥ ३४ ॥[५४]

यशः कीर्तिं च लक्ष्मीं च [५५]सदा रक्षतु [५६]चक्रिणी ।
गोत्रमि[५७]न्द्राणि मे रक्षेत्पशून्मे रक्ष चण्डिके ॥ ३५ ॥

पुत्रान् रक्षेन्महालक्ष्मीर्भार्यां रक्षतु भैरवी ।
[५८]मार्गं क्षेमकरी रक्षेद्विजया सर्वतः [५९]स्थिता ॥ ३६ ॥

रक्षाहीनं तु यत्स्थानं वर्जितं कवचेन तु ।
तत्सर्वं रक्ष मे [६०]देवी जयन्ती पापनाशिनी ॥ ३७ ॥

पदमेकं न गच्छेत्तु यदीच्छेच्छुभमात्मनः ।
कवचेनावृतो नित्यं यत्र [६१]यत्र हि गच्छति ॥ ३८ ॥

तत्र तत्रार्थलाभश्च विजयः सार्वकामिकः ।
यं यं [६२]चिन्तयते कामं तं तं प्राप्नोति निश्चितम् ॥ ३९ ॥

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४३ G कूपेषु. ४४ V अन्त्राणि. ४५ J कालरात्री. ४६ J मुकुटं. ४७ J नसाज्वालम्. ४८ N ज्वाला अमेद्या. ४९ JN ब्रह्माणी. ५० GJ रक्षेन्. ५१ J धर्मधारिणी, V धर्मचारिणि. ५२ GN व्यानम्. ५३ G उदानं च समानकम्. ५४ After 34, G ins.

वज्रहस्ता च मे रक्षेत्प्राणं कल्याणशोभना ।
रसे रूपे च गन्धे च शब्दे स्पर्शे च योगिनी ॥
सत्त्वं रजस्तमश्चैव रक्षेन्नारायणी सदा ।
आयू रक्षतु वाराही धर्मं रक्षतु वैष्णवी ॥

५५ G धनं विद्यां च. ५६ JN वैष्णवी. ५७ JN इन्द्राणी.
५८ G Subst. पंथानं सुपथा रक्षेन्मार्गं क्षेमकरी तथा ।
राजद्वारे महालक्ष्मीर्विजया सर्वतः स्थिता ॥
J मार्गे क्षेमंकरी. ५९ J स्थितम्. ६० J देवि. ६१ J यत्र स; N यत्राधि°. ६२ N कामयते.

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परमैश्वर्यमतुलं प्राप्स्यते भूतले पुमान् ।
निर्भयो जायते मर्त्यः संग्रामेष्वपराजितः ॥ ४० ॥
त्रैलोक्ये तु भवेत्पूज्यः कवचेनावृतः पुमान् ।
इदं तु देव्याः कवचं देवानामपि दुर्लभम् ॥ ४१ ॥
यः पठेत्प्रयतो नित्यं त्रिसंध्यं श्रद्धयान्वितः ।
दैवी कला भवेत्तस्य त्रै[६३]लोक्ये चापराजितः ॥ ४२ ॥
जीवेद्वर्षशतं साग्रमपमृत्युविवर्जितः ।
नश्यन्ति व्याधयः सर्वे लूताविस्फोटकादयः ॥ ४३ ॥
स्थावरं जंगमं [६४]चापि कृत्रिमं चापि यद्विषम् ।
अभिचाराणि सर्वाणि मन्त्रयन्त्राणि भूतले ॥ ४४ ॥
भूचराः खेचराश्चैव जलजाश्चो[६५]पदेशिकाः ।
[६६]सहजा कुलजा माला [६७]डाकिनी शाकिनी तथा ॥ ४५ ॥
अन्तरिक्षचरा घोरा [६८]डाकिन्यश्च महाबलाः ।
ग्रहभूतपिशाचाश्च यक्षगन्धर्वराक्षसाः ॥ ४६ ॥
ब्रह्मराक्षसवेताला: कूष्माण्डा भैरवादयः ।
नश्यन्ति दर्शनात्तस्य कवचे हृदि संस्थिते ॥ ४७ ॥
मानोन्नतिर्भवेद्राज्ञस्तेजोवृद्धिकरं परम् ।
यशसा वर्धते सोऽपि कीर्तिमण्डितभूतले ॥ ४८ ॥
जपेत्सप्तशतीं चण्डीं कृत्वा तु कवचं पुरा ।
यावद्भूमण्डलं धत्ते सशैलवनकाननम् ॥ ४९ ॥
तावत्तिष्ठति मेदिन्यां संततिः पुत्रपौत्रिकी ।
देहान्ते परमं स्थानं यत्सुरैरपि दुर्लभम् ॥ ५० ॥
प्राप्नोति पुरुषो नित्यं महामायाप्रसादतः ॥ ५१ ॥[६९]

॥ इति देवीकवचं समाप्तम् ॥

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६३ N त्रैलोक्येष्वपराजितः. ६४ J यच्च; N वापि. ६५ J चौपदेशिकाः.
६६ N सहजाः. ६७ N शाकिनी डाकिनी (by transp.). ६८ J हाकिन्यश्च.
६९ After 51, G ins. :
लभते परमं रूपं शिवेन सह मोदते ॥ ॐ ॥
Colophon : G इति देव्याः कवचं सम्पूर्णम् ।
J श्रीवाराहपुराणे हरिहरब्रह्मविरचितं देवीकवचम् ।
N वाराहपुराणे हरिहरब्रह्मविरचितं देव्याः कवचं समाप्तम् । श्रीजगदम्बार्पणमस्तु ।

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(II) अर्गलास्तुतिः ।

मार्कण्डेय उवाच[1]—

[2]जयन्ती मङ्गला [3]काली भद्रकाली कपालिनी ।
दुर्गा क्षमा शिवा धात्री स्वाहा स्वधा नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ १ ॥[4]

मधुकैटभविद्रावि [5]विधातृवरदे नमः ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ २ ॥

महिषासुर[6]निर्नाशविधात्री[7] वरदे नमः ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ ३ ॥[8]

वन्दिताङ्घ्रियुगे देवि [9]सर्वसौभाग्यदायिनि ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ ४ ॥

[10]रक्तबीजवधे देवि चण्डमुण्डविनाशिनि ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ ५ ॥[11]

अचिन्त्यरूपचरिते सर्वशत्रुविनाशिनि ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ ६ ॥

नतेभ्यः सर्वदा भक्त्या चण्डिके [12]दुरितापहे ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ ७ ॥

स्तुवद्भ्यो भक्तिपूर्वं त्वां चण्डिके व्याधिनाशिनि ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ ८ ॥

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१ JN om. मार्कण्डेय उवाच. २ Before 1, G ins. ॐ. ३ J कृष्णा.
४ After 1, G ins. : जय त्वं देवि चामुण्डे जय भूतार्तिहारिणि ।
जयं सर्वगते देवि कालरात्रि नमोऽस्तु ते ।।
५ GN °विद्राविविधातृ. ६ G °निर्णाशि भक्तानां सुखदे ७ JN विधात्रि. ८ After 3, G reads 5 and J ins. : निशुम्भशुम्भनिर्नाशविधात्रि वरदे नमः ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥
९ V देवि for सर्व. १० J om. 5. ११ After 5 (read after 3), G ins. :
शुम्भस्यैव निशुम्भस्य धूम्राक्षस्य च मर्दिनि ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ & then reads 4.
१२ V प्रणताय मे.

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चण्डिके सततं ये त्वामर्चयन्तीह भक्तितः ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ ९ ॥

देहि सौभाग्यमारोग्यं देहि [13]देवि परं सुखम् ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ १० ॥

विधेहि द्विषतां नाशं विधेहि बलमुच्चकैः ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ ११ ॥

विधेहि देवि कल्याणं विधेहि [15]विपुलां श्रियम् ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ १२ ॥[15]

विद्यावन्तं यशस्वन्तं लक्ष्मीवन्तं जनं कुरु ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ १३ ॥

प्रचण्डदैत्यदर्पघ्ने[16] चण्डिके प्रणताय मे ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ १४ ॥

चतुर्भुजे चतुर्वक्त्रसंस्तुते परमेश्वरि ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ १५ ॥

कृष्णेन संस्तुते देवि शश्वद्भक्त्या [17]सदाम्बिके ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ १६ ॥

हिमाचलसुतानाथ[18]संस्तुते परमेश्वरि ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ १७ ॥

सुरासुरशिरोरत्ननिर्घृष्ट[19]चरणेऽम्बिके ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ १८ ॥

इन्द्राणीपतिसद्भावपूजिते परमेश्वरि ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ १९ ॥

[20]देवि प्रचण्डदोर्दण्डदैत्यदर्पविनाशिनि ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ २० ॥

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१३ G मे परमं for देवि परं. १४ GN परमां. १५ After 12, G reads 18. १६ N °र्पघ्नि. १७ N त्वमम्बिके, V तथाम्बिके. १८ V पूजिते. १९ J चरणाम्बुजे. २० N om. 20.

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देवि भक्तजनोद्दामदत्तानन्दोदयेऽम्बिके ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥ २१ ॥[२१]

पत्नीं मनोरमां देहि मनोवृत्तानुसारिणीम् ।
तारिणीं दुर्गसंसारसागरस्य कुलोद्भवाम् ॥ २२ ॥

इदं स्तोत्रं पठित्वा तु महास्तोत्रं पठेन्नरः ।
स तु सप्तशतीसंख्यावरमाप्नोति [२२]संपदाम् ॥ २३ ॥

इति देव्या अर्गलास्तुतिः समाप्ता ।

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२१ After 21, N ins. : पुत्रान्देहि धनं देहि सर्वकामांश्च देहि मे ।
रूपं देहि जयं देहि यशो देहि द्विषो जहि ॥

२२ V संपदः. Colophon. : G इति देव्या अर्गलास्तोत्रं संपूर्णम्; J मार्कण्डेयपुराणे अर्गलास्तोत्रम्; N मार्कण्डेयपुराणे अर्गलास्तोत्रं समाप्तम्.

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(III) देवीकीलकम् ।

[1]मार्कण्डेय उवाच—

[2]विशुद्धज्ञानदेहाय त्रिवेदीदिव्यचक्षुषे ।
श्रेयःप्राप्तिनिमित्ताय नमः सोमार्धधारिणे ॥ १ ॥

सर्वमेतद्वि[3]जानीयान्मन्त्राणाम[4]भिकीलकम् ।
सोऽपि क्षेममवाप्नोति सततं जाप्यतत्परः ॥ २ ॥

[5]सिध्यन्त्युच्चाटनादीनि वस्तूनि सकलान्यपि ।
एतेन स्तुवतां देवी स्तोत्रमात्रेण सिद्ध्यति ॥ ३ ॥

न मन्त्रो नौषधं तत्र न किंचिदपि विद्यते ।
विना जाप्येन [6]सिध्येत सर्वमुच्चाटनादिकम् ॥ ४ ॥

समग्राण्यपि [7]सेत्स्यन्ति लोकशङ्कामिमां हरः ।
कृत्वा [8]निमन्त्रयामास सर्वमेवमिदं शुभम् ॥ ५ ॥

स्तोत्रं वै चण्डिकायास्तु तच्च [9]गुह्यं चकार सः ।
[10]समाप्तिर्न च पुण्यस्य तां यथावन्नियन्त्रणाम् ॥ ६ ॥

सोऽपि क्षेममवाप्नोति सर्वमेव न संशयः ।
कृष्णायां वा चतुर्दश्यामष्टम्यां वा समाहितः ॥ ७ ॥

ददाति प्रतिगृह्णाति नान्यथैषा प्रसीदति ।
इत्थंरूपेण कीलेन महादेवेन कीलितम् ॥ ८ ॥

यो निष्कीलां विधायैनां नित्यं जपति [11]संस्फुटम् ।
स सिद्धः सगणः सोऽपि गन्धर्वो जायतेऽ[12]वने ॥ ९ ॥

न चैवाप्यटतस्तस्य भयं [13]क्वापीह जायते ।
नापमृत्युवशं याति मृतो मोक्षमवाप्नुयात् ॥ १० ॥

ज्ञात्वा प्रारभ्य कुर्वीत [14]ह्यकुर्वाणो विनश्यति ।
ततो ज्ञात्वैव सम्पन्नमिदं प्रारभ्यते बुधैः ॥ ११ ॥

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१ V ऋषिरुवाच. २ Before 1, G ins. ॐ. ३ JN विना यस्तु for विजानीयात्. ४ N अपि for अभि. ५ GN सिद्धयंति. ६ GNV सिद्धयेत. ७ GN सिद्धयन्ति. ८ J नियन्त्रयामास. ९ G गुप्तं. १० J सम्प्राप्नोति स पुण्येन. ११ JN सुस्फुटम्. १२ G नरः; N वने. १३ JN क्वापि हि. १४ G न कुर्वाणो.

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सौभाग्यादि च यत्किंचिद्दृश्यते ललनाजने ।
तत्सर्वं [15]तत्प्रसादेन [16]तेन जाप्यमिदं शुभम् ॥ १२ ॥

शनैस्तु [17]जप्यमानेऽस्मिन्स्तोत्रे सम्पत्तिरुच्चकैः ।
भवत्येव समग्रापि ततः प्रारभ्यमेव तत् ॥ १३ ॥

ऐश्वर्यं यत्प्रसादेन सौभाग्यारोग्यसम्पदः ।
शत्रुहानिः परो मोक्षः स्तूयते सा न किं जनैः ॥ १४ ॥[18]

इति देव्याः कीलकस्तोत्रं संपूर्णम् ।

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१५ JN यत्. १६ J तस्माज्. १७ J जाप्यमाने. १८ After 14, G ins. ॐ. Colophon. G लक्ष्मी for देव्याः. J कीलकस्तोत्रम्. N भगवत्याः कीलकस्तोत्रं समाप्तम्.

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(IV) प्राधानिकरहस्यम् ।

राजोवाच—

भगवन्नवतारा मे चण्डिकायास्त्वयोदिताः ।
एतेषां प्रकृतिं ब्रह्मन् [1]प्रधानं वक्तुमर्हसि ॥ १ ॥

आराध्यं यन्मया देव्याः स्वरूपं येन [2]तद् द्विज ।
विधिना ब्रूहि सकलं यथावत्प्रणतस्य मे ॥ २ ॥

ऋषिरुवाच—

इदं रहस्यं परममनाख्येयं प्रचक्षते ।
भक्तोऽसीति न मे किंचित्तवावाच्यं नराधिप ॥ ३ ॥

सर्वस्याद्या महालक्ष्मीस्त्रिगुणा [3]परमेश्वरी ।
लक्ष्यालक्ष्यस्वरूपा सा व्याप्य कृत्स्नं व्यवस्थिता ॥ ४ ॥

[4]मातुलिङ्गं गदां खेटं पानपात्रं च बिभ्रती ।
नागं लिङ्गं च योनिं च बिभ्रती नृप [5]मूर्धनि ॥ ५ ॥

तप्तकाञ्चनवर्णाभा तप्तकाञ्चनभूषणा ।
शून्यं तदखिलं स्वेन पूरयामास तेजसा ॥ ६ ॥

शून्यं तदखिलं लोकं विलोक्य परमेश्वरी ।
बभार [6]रूपमपरं तमसा केवलेन हि ॥ ७ ॥

सा भिन्नाञ्जनसंकाशा दंष्ट्रा[7]ङ्कितवरानना ।
विशाललोचना नारी बभूव तनुमध्यमा ॥ ८ ॥

खड्गपात्रशिरःखेटैरलंकृतचतुर्भुजा ।
कबन्धहारं शिरसा बिभ्राणा [8]शिरसा स्रजम् ॥ ९ ॥

[9]तां प्रोवाच महालक्ष्मीस्तामसीं प्रमदोत्तमाम् ।
ददामि तव नामानि यानि कर्माणि तानि ते ॥ १० ॥

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१ J प्राधान्यं. २ GJ च, N वै. ३ J सकलेश्वरी. ४ GJ मातुलुङ्गं. ५ J मूर्द्धनि. ६ G परमं रूपं. ७ GJ अंकित, N अंचित. ८ JGN हि शिरःस्रजं. ९ After 9, GJ ins. :

सा प्रोवाच महालक्ष्मीं तामसी प्रमदोत्तमा ।
नाम कर्म च मे मातर् देहि तुभ्यं नमो नमः ॥

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महामाया महाकाली महामारी क्षुधा तृषा ।
निद्रा तृष्णा चैकवीरा कालरात्रिर्दुरत्यया ॥ ११ ॥

इमानि तव नामानि प्रतिपाद्यानि कर्मभिः ।
एभिः कर्माणि ते ज्ञात्वा योऽधीते सोऽश्नुते सुखम् ॥ १२ ॥

तामित्युक्त्वा महालक्ष्मीः स्वरूपमपरं नृप ।
सत्त्वाख्येनातिशुद्धेन गुणेनेन्दुप्रभं दधौ ॥ १३ ॥

अक्षमाला[10]ङ्कुशधरा वीणापुस्तकधारिणी ।
सा बभूव वरा नारी नामान्यस्यै च सा ददौ ॥ १४ ॥

महाविद्या महावाणी भारती वाक् सरस्वती ।
आर्या ब्राह्मी [11]महाधेनुर्वेदगर्भा [12]सुरेश्वरी ॥ १५ ॥

अथोवाच महालक्ष्मीर्महाकालीं सरस्वतीम् ।
युवां जनयतां देव्यौ मिथुने स्वानुरूपतः ॥ १६ ॥

इत्युक्त्वा ते महालक्ष्मीः ससर्ज मिथुनं स्वयम् ।
हिरण्यगर्भौ रुचिरौ स्त्रीपुंसौ कमलासनौ ॥ १७ ॥

ब्रह्मन् विधे विरञ्चेति धातरित्याह तं नरम् ।
[13]श्रीःपद्मे कमले लक्ष्मीत्याह माता [14]स्त्रियं च ताम् ॥ १८ ॥

महाकाली भारती च मिथुने [15]सृजति स्म ह ।
एतयोरपि रूपाणि नामानि च वदामि ते ॥ १९ ॥

नीलकण्ठं रक्तबाहुं श्वेताङ्गं चन्द्रशेखरम् ।
जनयामास पुरुषं महाकाली सितां स्त्रियम् ॥ २० ॥

स रुद्रः शंकरः स्थाणुः कपर्दी च त्रिलोचनः ।
त्रयी विद्या कामधेनुः सा स्त्री [16]भाषाक्षरा स्वरा ॥ २१ ॥

सरस्वती स्त्रियं गौरीं कृष्णं च पुरुषं नृप ।
जनयामास नामानि तयोरपि वदामि ते ॥ २२ ॥

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१० J अंबुज. ११ G कामधेनुर्. १२ GJ च धीश्वरी. १३ GJ श्रीः पद्मे, १४ G च तां स्त्रियम्. १५ GN सृजतः सह; J सृजतः स्म ह. १६ N भाषा स्वराक्षरा.

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विष्णुः कृष्णो हृषीकेशो वासुदेवो जनार्दनः ।
उमा गौरी सती चण्डी सुन्दरी सुभगा [17]शिवा ॥ २३ ॥

एवं युवतयः सद्यः पुरुषत्वं प्रपेदिरे ।
चक्षुष्मन्तोऽनुपश्यन्ति नेतरेऽतद्विदो [18]जनाः ॥ २४ ॥

ब्रह्मणे प्रददौ पत्नीं महालक्ष्मीर्नृप त्रयीम् ।
रुद्राय गौरीं वरदां वासुदेवाय च श्रियम् ॥ २५ ॥

स्वरया सह संभूय विरञ्चोऽण्डमजीजनत् ।
बिभेद भगवान् रुद्रस्तद्गौर्या सह वीर्यवान् ॥ २६ ॥

अण्डमध्ये [19]प्रधानादिकार्यजातमभून्नृप ।
महाभूतात्मकं सर्वं जगत्स्थावरजङ्गमम् ॥ २७ ॥

पुपोष पालयामास तल्लक्ष्म्या सह केशवः ।[20]
[21]महालक्ष्मीरे[22]व मता राजन् सर्वेश्वरेश्वरी ॥ २८ ॥

निराकारा च साकारा सैव नानाभिधानभृत् ।
नामान्तरैर्निरूप्यैषा नाम्ना नान्येन केनचित् ॥ २९ ॥[23]

॥ इति प्राधानिकरहस्यम् ॥

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१७ N शुभा. १८ J [s]बुधाः. १९ GJ प्रधानादि कार्य. २० After 28ab, J ins. : संजहार जगत्सर्वं सह गौर्या महेश्वरः । २१ GJ Subst. for cd—महालक्ष्मीर्महाराज सर्वसत्त्वमयीश्वरी । २२ N एवमजा. २३ G ins. ॐ after 29. Colophon : G इति प्राधानिकं रहस्यं संपूर्णम् ।; J इति प्राधानिकं नाम रहस्यम्; N मार्कण्डेयपुराणे प्राधानिकं रहस्यम्.

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(V) [1]वैकृतिकं रहस्यम् ।

ऋषिरुवाच—

[2]त्रिगुणा तामसी देवी सात्त्विकी या [3]त्रिधोदिता ।
सा शर्वा चण्डिका दुर्गा भद्रा भगवतीर्यते ॥ १ ॥

योगनिद्रा हरेरुक्ता महाकाली तमोगुणा ।
मधुकैटभनाशार्थं यां तुष्टावाम्बुजासनः ॥ २ ॥

दशवक्त्रा दशभुजा दशपादाञ्जनप्रभा ।
विशालया राजमाना त्रिंशल्लोचनमालया ॥ ३ ॥

स्फुरद्दशनदंष्ट्राभा भीमरूपापि भूमिप ।
रूपसौभाग्यकान्तीनां सा प्रतिष्ठा [4]महाश्रियाम् ॥ ४ ॥

खड्गबाणगदाशूलशङ्खचक्रभुशुण्डिभृत् ।
परिघं कार्मुकं शीर्षं निश्चोतद्रुधिरं दधौ ॥ ५ ॥

एषा सा वैष्णवी माया महाकाली दुरत्यया ।
आराधिता वशीकुर्यात् पूजाकर्तुश्चराचरम् ॥ ६ ॥

सर्वदेवशरीरेभ्यो याविर्भूतामितप्रभा ।
त्रिगुणा सा महालक्ष्मीः साक्षान्महिषमर्दिनी ॥ ७ ॥

श्वेतानना नीलभुजा सुश्वेतस्तनमण्डला ।
रक्तमध्या रक्तपादा [5]नीलजङ्घोरुरुन्मदा ॥ ८ ॥

सुचित्रजघना चित्रमाल्याम्बरविभूषणा ।
चित्रानुलेपना कान्तिरूपसौभाग्यशालिनी ॥ ९ ॥

अष्टादशभुजा पूज्या सा सहस्रभुजा सती ।
आयुधान्यत्र वक्ष्यन्ते दक्षिणाधःकरक्रमात् ॥ १० ॥

अक्षमाला च कमलं बाणोऽसिः कुलिशं गदा ।
चक्रं त्रिशूलं परशुः शङ्खो घण्टा च पाशकः ॥ ११ ॥

शक्तिर्दण्डश्चर्म चापं पानपात्रं कमण्डलुः ।
अलंकृतभुजामेभिरायुधैः कमलासनाम् ॥ १२ ॥

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१ GJN ins. अथ. २ Before 1, G ins. ॐ. ३ N त्रया for त्रिधा.
४ G महाश्रियः. ५ N रक्त for नील.

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सर्वदेवमयीमीशां महालक्ष्मीमिमां नृप ।
पूजयेत्सर्व[6]लोकानां स [7]देवानां प्रभुर्भवेत् ॥ १३ ॥
गौरीदेहात् समुद्भूता या सत्त्वैकगुणाश्रया ।
साक्षात्सरस्वती प्रोक्ता शुम्भासुरनिबर्हिणी ॥ १४ ॥
दधौ चाष्टभुजा [8]बाणमुसले शूलचक्रभृत् ।
शङ्खं घण्टां लाङ्गलं च कार्मुकं वसुधाधिप ॥ १५ ॥
एषा संपूजिता भक्त्या सर्वज्ञत्वं प्रयच्छति ।
निशुम्भमथनी देवी शुम्भासुरनिबर्हिणी ॥ १६ ॥
इत्युक्तानि स्वरूपाणि मूर्तीनां तव पार्थिव ।
उपासनं जगन्मातुः पृथगासां निशामय ॥ १७ ॥
महालक्ष्मीर्यदा पूज्या महाकाली सरस्वती ।
दक्षिणोत्तरयोः पूज्ये पृष्ठतो मिथुनत्रयम ॥ १८ ॥
[9]विरिञ्चिः स्वरया मध्ये रुद्रो गौर्या च दक्षिणे ।
वामे लक्ष्म्या हृषीकेशः पुरतो देवतात्रयम ॥ १९ ॥
अष्टादशभुजा मध्ये वामे चास्या दशानना ।
दक्षिणेऽष्टभुजा लक्ष्मीर्महतीति समर्चयेत् ॥ २० ॥
अष्टादशभुजा चैषा यदा पूज्या नराधिप ।
[10]दशानना चाष्टभुजा दक्षिणोत्तरयोस्तदा ॥ २१ ॥
कालमृत्यू च सम्पूज्यौ सर्वारिष्टप्रशान्तये ॥ २२ ॥
यदा चाष्टभुजा पूज्या शुम्भासुरनिबर्हिणी ।
नवास्याः शक्तयः पूज्यास्तथा रुद्रविनायकौ ॥ २३ ॥
नमो देव्या इति स्तोत्रैर्महालक्ष्मीं समर्चयेत् ।
अवतारत्रयार्चायां स्तोत्रमन्त्रास्तदाश्रयाः ॥ २४ ॥
अष्टादशभुजा चैषा पूज्या महिषमर्दिनी ।
महालक्ष्मीर्महाकाली सैव प्रोक्ता सरस्वती ॥ २५ ॥

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६ V देवानां. ७ V लोकानां. ८ N बाणान्मुसलं. ९ GN विरंचिः.
१० J subst. : दशानना चाष्टभुजा वामदक्षिणसंस्थिता ।
दशानना यदा पूज्या दक्षिणोत्तरयोस्तदा ।

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ईश्वरी पुण्यपापानां सर्वलोकमहेश्वरी ।
महिषान्तकरी येन पूजिता स जगत्प्रभुः ॥ २६ ॥[११]

पूजयेज्जगतां धात्रीं चण्डिकां भक्तवत्सलाम् ।
[१२]अर्घ्यादिभिरलंकारैर्गन्धपुष्पैस्तथा[१३]क्षतैः ॥ २७ ॥

धूपैर्दीपैश्च नैवेद्यैर्नानाभक्ष्यसमन्वितैः ।
[१४]रुधिराक्तेन बलिना मांसेन सुरया नृप ॥ २८ ॥[१५]

प्रणामाचमनीयेन चन्दनेन सुगन्धिना ।
सकर्पूरैश्च ताम्बूलैर्भक्तिभावसमन्वितैः ॥ २९ ॥

वामभागेऽग्रतो देव्याश्छिन्नशीर्षं महासुरम् ।
पूजयेन्महिषं येन प्राप्तं सायुज्यमीशया ॥ ३० ॥

दक्षिणे पुरतः सिंहं समग्रं धर्ममीश्वरम् ।
वाहनं पूजयेद्देव्या धृतं येन चराचरम् ।
[१६]यः कुर्यात् प्रयतो धीमांस्तस्या एकाग्रमानसः ॥ ३१ ॥

ततः कृताञ्जलिर्भूत्वा स्तुवीत चरितैरिमैः ।
एकेन वा मध्यमेन नैकेनेतरयोरिह ॥ ३२ ॥[१७]

चरितार्धं तु न जपेज्जपंश्छिद्रमवाप्नुयात् ।[१८]
[१९]प्रदक्षिणा नमस्कारान् कृत्वा मूर्ध्नि कृताञ्जलिः ॥ ३३ ॥

क्षमापयेज्जगद्धात्रीं मुहुर्मुहुरतन्द्रितः ।
प्रतिश्लोकं च जुहुयात् पायसं [२०]तिलसर्पिषा ॥ ३४ ॥

जुहुयात्स्तोत्रमन्त्रैर्वा चण्डिकायै शुभं हविः ।
[२१]नमोनमःपदैर्देवीं पूजयेत्सुसमाहितः ॥ ३५ ॥

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११ After 26, J ins. : लिखित्वाऽष्टदलं पद्मं चन्दनागरुकुङ्कुमैः ।
षट्कोणं चैव तन्मध्ये देवीं तन्मध्यतो यजेत् ।
१२ J अर्घादि. १३ JN उत्तमैः. १४ J om. 28cd and 29 ab. १५ After 28, G ins. (in brackets) बलिमांसादिपूजेयं विप्रवर्ज्या मयेरिता ।
तेषां किल सुरामांसैर्नोक्ता पूजा नृप क्वचित् ।
१६ N om. 31ef. G कुर्याच्च स्तवनं. १७ After 32, J ins. : श्लोकार्धं श्लोकपादं वा श्लोकं वा राजसत्तम । १८ After 33ab, JN ins. : स्तोत्रमन्त्रैः स्तुवीतेमां यदि वा जगदम्बिकाम् ।
१९ GJ प्रदक्षिणानमस्कारान्. २० J मधु°. २१ GJ भूयो नामपदैर्,

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प्रयतः प्राञ्जलिः प्रह्वः [२२]प्रणम्यारोप्य चात्मनि ।
सुचिरं भावयेदीशां चण्डिकां तन्मयो भवेत् ॥ ३६ ॥

एवं यः पूजयेद् भक्त्या प्रत्यहं परमेश्वरीम् ।
भुक्त्वा [२३]कामान् यथाकामं देवीसायुज्यमाप्नुयात् ॥ ३७ ॥

[२४]यो न पूजयते नित्यं चण्डिकां भक्तवत्सलाम् ।
भस्मीकृत्यास्य पुण्यानि निर्दहेत्परमेश्वरी ॥ ३८ ॥

तस्मात् पूजय भूपाल सर्वलोकमहेश्वरीम् ।
यथोक्तेन विधानेन चण्डिकां सुखमाप्स्यसि ॥ ३९ ॥

॥ इति वैकृतिकरहस्यं समाप्तम् ॥

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२२ JN प्राणानारोप्य. २३ GJ भोगान्. २४ J om. 38. Colophon : G इति वैकृतिकं रहस्यं संपूर्णम्; J इति वैकृतिकं नाम रहस्यम्. N मार्कण्डेय्यु. वैकृतिकं रहस्यम्.

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(VI) [1]मूर्तिरहस्यम् ।

ऋषिरुवाच—

नन्दा भगवती नाम या भविष्यति नन्दजा ।
सा स्तुता पूजिता [2]भक्त्या वशीकुर्याज्जगत्त्रयम् ॥ १ ॥

कनकोत्तमकान्तिः सा सुकान्तिकनकाम्बरा ।
देवी [3]कनकवर्णाभा कनकोत्तमभूषणा ॥ २ ॥

कमलाङ्कुशपाशाब्जैरलंकृतचतुर्भुजा ।
इन्दिरा कमला लक्ष्मीः सा [4]श्रीरुक्माम्बुजासना ॥ ३ ॥

या रक्तदन्तिका नाम देवी प्रोक्ता मयानघ ।
तस्याः स्वरूपं वक्ष्यामि शृणु सर्वभयापहम् ॥ ४ ॥

रक्ताम्बरा रक्तवर्णा रक्तसर्वाङ्गभूषणा ।
रक्तायुधा रक्तनेत्रा रक्तकेशातिभीषणा ॥ ५ ॥

रक्ततीक्ष्णनखा रक्त[5]दशना रक्त[6]दन्तिका ।
पतिं नारीवानुरक्ता देवी भक्तं भजेज्जनम् ॥ ६ ॥

वसुधेव विशाला सा सुमेरुयुगलस्तनी ।
दीर्घौ लम्बावतिस्थूलौ तावतीव मनोहरौ ॥ ७ ॥

[7]कर्कशावतिकान्तौ तौ सर्वानन्दपयोनिधी ।
भक्तान् संपादयेद्देवी सर्वकामदुघौ स्तनौ ॥ ८ ॥

[8]खड्गं पात्रं च [9]मुशलं लाङ्गलं च बिभर्ति सा ।
आख्याता रक्तचामुण्डा देवी योगेश्वरीति च ॥ ९ ॥

अनया व्याप्तमखिलं जगत् स्थावरजङ्गमम् ।[10]
[11]इमां यः पूजयेद् भक्त्या स व्याप्नोति चराचरम् ॥ १० ॥

अधीते य इमं नित्यं रक्तदन्त्या वपुःस्तवम् ।
तं सा परिचरेद् देवी पतिं प्रियमिवाङ्गना ॥ ११ ॥

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१ N reads अथ मूर्तिरहस्यम्. २ N ध्याता. ३ J कनकदामाख्या. ४ G श्री रुक्मा.° ५ J रसना. ६ N दंष्ट्रिका. ७ J सुकर्कशावतिकान्तौ. ८ N खड्गपात्रं. ९ GJN मुसलं. १० After 10ab, G ins. : in bracket. (भुक्त्वा भोगान् यथाकामं देवीसायुज्यमाप्नुयात्). ११ G om 10cd.

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शाकम्भरी नीलवर्णा नीलोत्पलविलोचना ।
गम्भीरनाभिस्त्रिवलीविभूषिततनूदरी ॥ १२ ॥

सुकर्कशसमोत्तुङ्गवृत्तपीनघनस्तनी ।
मुष्टिं शिली[१२]मुखापूर्णं कमलं कमलालया ॥ १३ ॥

पुष्पपल्लव[१३]मूलादि फलाढ्यं शाकसंचयम् ।
काम्यानन्तरसैर्युक्तं क्षुत्तृण्मृत्यु[१४]ज्वरापहम् ॥ १४ ॥

कार्मुकं च स्फुरत्कान्ति [१५]बिभ्रती परमेश्वरी ।
शाकम्भरी शताक्षी [१६]सा सैव दुर्गा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ १५ ॥

[१७]विशोका दुष्टदमनी शमनी दुरितापदाम् ।
उमा गौरी सती चण्डी कालिका सापि पार्वती ॥ १६ ॥

शाकम्भरीं स्तुवन् ध्यायञ् जपन् संपूजयन्नमन् ।
अक्षय्यमश्नुते शीघ्रम[१८]न्नपानामृतं फलम् ॥ १७ ॥

भीमापि नीलवर्णा सा दंष्ट्रादशनभासुरा ।
विशाललोचना नारी वृत्तपीन[१९]पयोधरा ॥ १८ ॥

चन्द्रहासं च डमरुं [२०]शिरःपात्रं च बिभ्रती ।
एकवीरा कालरात्रिः सैवोक्ता कामदा स्तुता ॥ १९ ॥

तेजोमण्डल[२१]दुर्धर्षा भ्रामरी चित्रकान्तिभृत् ।
[२२]चित्रानुलेपना देवी चित्राभरणभूषिता ॥ २० ॥

चित्रभ्रमर[२३]पाणिः सा महामारीति गीयते ।
इत्येता मूर्तयो देव्या [२४]व्याख्याता वसुधाधिप ॥ २१ ॥

जगन्मातुश्चण्डिकायाः कीर्तिताः कामधेनवः ।
इदं रहस्यं परमं न वाच्यं [२५]कस्यचित्त्वया ॥ २२ ॥

[२६]व्याख्यानं दिव्यमूर्तीनाम[२७]धीष्वावहितः स्वयम् ।
[२८]तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन देवीं जप निरन्तरम् ॥ २३ ॥

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१२ N मुखैः पूर्णम्. १३ G मूलादिफलाढ्यं १४ G भय, J जरा.
१५ J बिभर्ति. १६ N स्यात्. १७ N om. 16. १८ N अन्नपानादि सर्वशः.
१९ N घनस्तनी. २० GJ शिरः पात्रम्. २१ J दुर्दशा. २२ JN om. 20cd.
२३ N संकाशा for पाणिः सा. २४ G याः ख्याता. २५ N यस्य कस्यचित्. २६ J आख्यानं.
२७ G अभीष्टफलदायकम् २८ JN om. 23cd to 24cd.

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सप्तजन्मार्जितैर्घोरैर्ब्रह्महत्यासमैरपि ।
पाठमात्रेण मन्त्राणां मुच्यते सर्वकिल्बिषैः ॥ २४ ॥

[२९]देव्या ध्यानं [३०]मयाख्यातं गुह्याद् गुह्यतरं महत् ।
तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नेन सर्वकामफलप्रदम् ॥ २५ ॥[३१]

॥ इति मूर्तिरहस्यं संपूर्णम् ॥

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२९ J transp. ab and cd. ३० G मया ख्यातम्; J समाख्यातम्. ३१ After 25, G ins. in brackets

(एतस्यास्त्वं प्रसादेन सर्वमान्यो भविष्यसि ।
सर्वरूपमयी देवी सर्वं देवीमयं जगत् ।
अतोऽहं विश्वरूपां तां नमामि परमेश्वरीम् ।)

while J ins.

मेधा प्रज्ञा तथा श्रद्धा धारणा कान्तिरेव च ।
शांतिः पुष्टिस्तथा लक्ष्मीरेतत् सर्वं प्रयच्छति ।
सर्वरूपमयी देवी सर्वं देवीमयं जगत् ।
अतोऽहं विश्वरूपां तां नमामि जगदम्बिकाम् ।

Colophon. : J इति मूर्तिरहस्यम्; N मार्कण्डेयपुराणे खिलांशे मूर्तिरहस्यम्; V इति वैकृतिकरहस्यं तंत्रोक्तं समाप्तम्.

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Appendix 2

Authors and works mentioned quoted in the commentary

Sr.No.	Author/work	Reference
1	अभिधानः	6.6.
2	अमरः	1.28; 2.43; 3.8; 4.14; 5.46; 8.14; 11.1; 11 22.
3	अर्वाचीनाः	4 9; 11 1.
4	आगमः	11.9.
5.	आश्वर्यगर्वे	8.17.
6	कश्चित्	1.12; 5.63; 8.58; 11 42.
7.	केचित्	1.56.
8.	केश्चित्	10.5
9.	क्वचित	8,14.
10.	गीता	5 35.
11.	तन्त्रविदः	12.11.
12.	दर्शनात्	12.11
13.	धातुः	2.56.
14.	पाणिनिः	5.75.
15.	पारमर्षं सूत्रं	1.68.
16.	महाभारतं	1.1
17.	याज्ञवल्क्यः	1.56.
18.	विष्णुपुराणम्	1.1
19.	श्रुतिः	1.75; 4.9; 4.9.
20.	सर्वानन्दः	1.12.

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Appendix 3

Quotations in the Commentary

Sr. No.	Quotation	Reference	Original Source
१	अनात्मन्यात्मबुद्धिर्या अस्वे स्वमित्यविद्या ।		
	चारु संसृतिबीजमेतद् द्विधा स्थितम् ॥	११.१३	
२	अनुभूतविषयासंप्रमोषः स्मृतिः	५.३८	यो सू. १.११
३	अन्नमयं हि सौम्य मन आपोमयः प्राण-	१.७५	छां. उ. ६.५४; ६.६.५;
	स्तेजोमयी वाक्		६.७.६.
४	अभावप्रत्ययालंबना वृत्तिर्निद्रा	१.६८;	यो. सू. १.१०
		५.३४	
५	अवयः शैलमेषार्कौ	३.८	अमरकोशः ३.२७४९
६	असु(सु) क्षेपणे	२.३८	पा. धा. १२१०
७	असिचक्रगदाबाणा दक्षिणे पाणिमाश्रिताः ।		
	चर्म शार्ङ्गं तथा पाशे शङ्खं चैवास्य बामतः ॥	८.१७	हरिवंश cr. ed. ११०५
८	अस्त्री शूले रुगायुधम्	३.७	अमरकोशः ३.२७२९
९	आशा तृष्णापि याचना	११.१	अमरकोशः ३.२७६८
१०	आश्विने पतिते घोरे नवमी पतिवत्सरम्	१२.११	?
११	आहारनिद्राभयमैथुनं च सामान्यमेतत् -	१.३७	?
	त्पशुभिर्नराणाम् ।		
	ज्ञानं नराणामधिको विशेषो ज्ञानेन हीनाः		
	पशुभिः समानाः ॥		
१२	औरसो धर्मपत्नीजः	१.४	याज्ञ० स्मृ. व्य. १२८
१३	इन्द्रियाणामधिष्ठात्री भूतानाम्	५.३४	दे भा. ५.३४
१४	इदेदे द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम्	३.१४	पा. १.१.११
१५	कालभावे (कालाध्वनोरे)ति	१.१०	पा. २.३.५
१६	कालाध्वनोः	१.११	पा. २.३.५
१७	कुष निष्कर्षे	५.४१	पा. धा. १५१९
१८	केयूरमङ्गदं तुल्ये	२.२५	अमरकोशः २.१२८८
१९	क्तस्य च वर्तमाने	१.७४	पा. सू. २.३.३७
२०	खं(आकाशिनी [टिग्] परविणामुक्ता (रविविधयुक्ता)।		
	यस्यां रविस्तिष्ठति सा प्रदीप्ता ।	१०.२८	वराहमिहिरकृतयोगयात्रा
			१४.१०
२१	गुणे हेतावस्त्रीलिङ्गे चेति पञ्चमी	६.१	cf. सि.कौ. on २.३.२५
२२	घोरे चोदन्तरीक्ष उद्गीथः पृथिवीशम्	४.९	?

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Sr. No.	Quotation	Reference	Original Source
२३	चितिरूपेण या कृत्स्नम्	५.३४	दे.मा. ५.३५
२४	छन्दसि पूर्वपरे वा	२.६७	पा. १.४.८१
२५	त्रिफला विशरणे	३.७	पा.धा. ५१६
२६	तिस्रो मात्रा लयं यान्ति अर्धमात्रा न संशयः ॥	१.५६	बृहद्यो. या. २.३२
२७	त्रिधा सार्द्धा द्वि(द्वा)धा कर्तव्या मात्रास्तत्त्वार्थचिन्तकैः । देवताध्यानकालेन प्लुतं कुर्यान्न संशयः ॥	१.५६	बृहद्यो. या. २.३
२८	देवा ये ते पञ्चाभिह(हि)ताः	५.३४	?
२९	दैवी ह्येषा गुणमयी मम माया दुरत्यया ।	५.३४	भ.गी. ७.१४
३०	न तदस्ति पृथिव्यां वा दिवि देवेषु वा पुनः । सत्त्वं प्रकृतिजैर्मुक्तं यदेभिः स्यात्त्रिभिर्गुणैः ॥	५.३५	भ.गी. १८.४०
३१	नपुंसकमनपुंसके च	१.७	पा. १.२.६९
३२	निभृतो विनीतः	४.१४	cf. अमरकोशः ३.३०.४
३३	पश्वादिभिश्चाविशेषात्	१.३९	शां. भा. उपो. पृ. ३
३४	पुरुषस्य वाग्रसो वाव ऋग्रस ऋचः सामानि रसः साम्नामुद्गीथो रसः । स एव रसानान्त रसन्तमः । परार्द्धोऽष्टमो य उद्गीथः ।	४.९	छां. उ. १.१.२
३५	पूर्वजस्य सवर्णोऽपौ सावर्णस्तेन कथ्यते	१.१	विष्णुपुराणे ३.२.१३
३६	पृथ(थि)हिंसासंक्लेशनयोः	२.५६	पा.धा. ४८
३७	बलिप्रदाने पूजायां	१२.११	दे.मा. १२.९
३८	ब्राह्मीत्याद्यास्तु मातरः	८.१४	अमरकोशः १.७०
३९	मत(न)सि त्वं दिशः श्रोत्रे कान्ते विष्णुवरे हरम् । वाव्यज्ञे(यव्यं) मित्रमुत्सर्गे प्रजनेति प्रजापतिम् ।	५.३४	?
४०	मधुरं रसवद्वाचि वस्तून्यपि रसस्थितिः	५.५७	?
४१	मनुर्भविता	१३.१८	दे.मा. १३.१८
४२	मनोः कालः	१३	?
४३	महामात्रः प्रधानः स्यादिति पुंस्कांडे वा पठितः	१.१२	सर्वानन्दः ?
४४	महाशब्दो नवम्यां च लोके ख्यातिं गमिष्यति	१२.११	देवीपुराणम् ?
४५	माङ्माने	२.३१	पा.धा. ११४२
४६	माङुमुडिणि (माङि लुङ्)	५.७५	पाणिनिः ३.३.१७५
४७	मूलमाद्य शिफायां च मूलं स्यादन्तिकेऽपि च ।	६.६	?
४८	यन्मूर्त्यवयवाः सूक्ष्मास्तस्य माना(नामा)श्रयन्ति षट् । तस्माच्छरीरमित्याहुस्तस्य मूलं मनीषिणः ॥	५.४१	?
४९	यस्य च भावो (त्रेन) भावलक्षणम्	२.२	पा. २.३.३७

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Sr. No.	Quotation	Reference	Original Source
५०	यः पृथिव्यः (व्यां) तिष्ठन्पृथिवीमन्तरो यमयति	५.३४	बृ.उ. ३.७.३
५१	या देवी सर्वभूतेषु	५.३४	दे. मा ५.१२
५२	रत्नं स्वजातिश्रेष्ठ	५.४६	अमरकोशः ३.२५८७
५३	राजसी प्रकृ(कृि)या काले सात्त्विकी लोकसंस्थिता	५.३४	?
५४	रूपैः सप्तभिरेवं बध्नात्यात्मानमात्मना प्रकृतिः । सैव [च]विशिनष्टि प्रधानपुरुषयोरन्तरं (पुरुषान्तरं) सूक्ष्मम ॥	१४४	सां. का. ६३
५५	रोर(रि)	३.८	पा. ८ ३.१४
५६	व(वा) दान्ते	६ ५	पा. सू. ७.२.२७
५७	वसूनि दधितु (? (दधति तु) पितृन्	५.२९	?
५८	विकाशिवक्त्रांशुविकाशिताशाः	११.१	दे. मा. ११.१
५९	विपुले नकुले विष्णौ बधुना	११.२२	अमरकोशः ३.२६७६
६०	शङ्खचक्रगदाचर्म (शार्ङ्गं) गृहीतपरमायुधे	८.१७	दे. मा. ११५
६१	शव(भो)लक्ष्या(क्षा)लोचने	५.२५	cf. पा.धा. १६५६-२७
६२	शस् (शु हिंसायाम्	२.३८	पा.धा. ७०७
६३	शिरश्छित्त्वा निपातितः	३ ३८	दे.मा. ३.३९
६४	शिरश्छेदोद्भवं तद्वद्	३.३८	?
६५	षष्ठ्यर्थे चतुर्थ्यन्यतरस्याम्	५.४०	cf. पा.सू.वा. on २.३.६२
६६	समो गम्(म्यृ) छा(च्छि)	२.१०	पा. १ ३.२९
६७	सर्वं जन्तुं सृजति पालयति हन्ति च इत्यनुभवसि त्वं सा च शैवशक्तिः ।	५.३४	?
६८	सर्वे विधावय(विधय)श्छन्दसि विकल्पन्त (विकल्प्यन्ते)	२.३१	परिभाषेन्दुशेखर ३५
६९	सावर्णिर्भविता मनुः	१.२	दे.मा १३.२९
७०	सूर्याज्जन्म समासाद्य	१३.१८	दे.मा १३.१८
७१	सैव काले महामारी	१२.७	दे.मा. १२.३६
७२	संख्यार्थे वि(द्वि)बहुत्वे स्तः	२.४३	अमरकोशः २.१८७४
७३	संभवत्येकवाक्यत्वे वाक्यभेदो हि नेष्यते	१२.११	?
७४	स्त्री संविज्ज्ञानसंभाषा	१.२८	अमरकोशः ३.२५१९
७५	हत्वा रिपूनस्खलितम्	१३.१३	दे.मा. १३.१४
७६	हृदि शूलेन निर्भिन्नम्	३.३८	cf. दे.मा. ७.३२

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Introduction

(1) *The Devīmāhātmya-Integral Part of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* :—

The *Devīmāhātmya* aiso known as the *Caṇḍipāṭha* or the *Durgāsaptaśatī* (or simply *Saptaśatī*) has been traditionally handed down as an important and integral part, forming 81 to 93 *adhyāya*s of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.[1] The text of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* published by Venkateshwar Press, Bombay (*Saṁvat* 1967, *Śake* 1832 i.e. 1910 A.D.) contains the *Devīmāhātmya* in *adhyāya*s 78 to 90. Most of the mss., collated for the purpose of the Critical Edition of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, in the Critical Editions' wing of the Oriental Institute of Baroda incorporate the text of the *Devīmāhātmya*, (only three mss. omit it only because of its being too much popular as a separate treatise and they do not omit it as not forming a part of it). Secondly, the colophons to all the thirteen *adhyāya*s record that the *Devīmāhātmya* is a part of the description of the *Sāvarṇika Manvantara* in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.

(इति श्रीमार्कण्डेयपुराणे सावर्णिके मन्वन्तरे देवीमाहात्म्ये प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥ etc.).

Most of the commentators of the *Devīmāhātmya* explain its background at the commencement and clearly state it to be an inseparable part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. The beginning of some of them is noteworthy from this point of view.[2]

(१) **चतुर्धरी** —पाक्किल भगवद्बादरायणान्तेवासी जैमिनिर्महाभारतविषयेषु [केषु]चित्पदार्थेषु सन्दिहानो मार्कण्डेयमहर्षिमुपगम्य प्राचक्षत। अथ नायमस्माकं कथाक्षण इति सर्वार्थऽभिज्ञान् विन्ध्याचलनिवासिनश्चतुरः पक्षिणः पृच्छ इति मुनिनोपदिष्टोऽसावपि तथैवाकार्षीत्। पुनश्च जैमिनिप्रश्नानुरोधात्सर्गादिपुराणाङ्गव्याख्यानावसरे तुरीयपुराणाङ्गव्याचिख्यासया मार्कण्डेयभागुरिसंवादात्मकमितिहासमनुवर्तयतोऽष्टमं मन्वन्तरमुपक्रममाणा धर्मपक्षिण ऊचुर्मार्कण्डेय उवाचेति।

(२) **नागोजीभट्टी**— मार्कण्डेयेन क्रोष्टुकिं भागुरिं प्रति उक्तं स्तोत्रं जैमिनिं प्रति पक्षिरूपैर्मुनिपुत्रैरुक्तं मार्कण्डेयपुराणे, तद्यथामति व्याचक्ष्महे।

(३) **गुप्तवती**— कवचार्गले च कीलकमादौ मध्ये त्रयोदशाध्यायी।
अन्ते प्राधानिकवैकृतिके मूर्तित्रयं रहस्यानाम् ॥ ३ ॥
इति मार्कण्डेयपुराणाध्यायेषूनविंशतौ गुप्तान्।
अर्थान् प्रकटीकुरुते भास्कररायोऽग्निचित् कतिचित् ॥ ४ ॥

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1 Benerjee K. M. : (ed.) *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1962 A.D.

2 *Durgāsaptaśatī* (with seven commentaries), Venkateshwar edition, Bombay, 1916

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(४) शांतनवी— मार्कण्डेयपुराणोक्तं देवीमाहात्म्यमद्भुतम् ।
अल्पाक्षरमनल्पार्थमपपाठपराङ्मुखम् ॥ ४ ॥
शुभंयुः शंतनुः शंयुः सत्कीर्तिस्तोमरान्वयः ।
व्याकरोति पराकूत्य कुव्याख्यानपरंपराम् ॥ ५ ॥

(५) दंशोद्धारव्याख्या —

इह खलु तत्रभवान् कृष्णद्वैपायनशिष्यो जैमिनिर्व्यासमुखादखिलं धर्मजातं श्रुत्वाऽप्यवशिष्टान् कांश्चित्प्रश्नान्प्रष्टुकामो भगवन्तं मार्कण्डेयं पृष्टवानपि मार्कण्डेयेन श्रीभगवद्ध्यानश्रवणचित्ततयाऽवसराभावाद् विन्ध्याचलनिवासिचतुःपक्षिद्वारा बोधितः । तैश्च पक्षिभिर्मार्कण्डेयभागुरिसंवादमुपक्रम्य मन्वन्तरकथाप्रसङ्गेन सप्त मन्वन्तराणि निर्वर्ण्य मन्वन्तरचरितं प्रोच्यते मार्कण्डेय उवाचेत्यादिना ।

(६) नीलाम्बराचार्यव्याख्या—

भगवतो द्वैपायनस्य शिष्यो जैमिनिर्महाभारतं शृण्वन् केषुचित्संशयितो मार्कण्डेयमुपससाद । स च भगवान क्रियाकालोऽयमस्मानभियुक्त्वा विन्ध्यकन्दरनिवासिनश्चतुरः पक्षिणः प्रत्यूवाच । तानुपासीदपृच्छदिति, ते च तं छिन्नसंशयं चक्रुः । पुनश्च प्रसङ्गागतं पुराणसंप्रदायसिद्धं मन्वन्तरादिकं च व्याचिख्यासवः क्रोष्टुकिना पृष्टेन मार्कण्डेयेनोक्तमष्टमं मन्वन्तरान्वयं व्याचिक्षासव इदमूचुर्मार्कण्डेय उवाचेत्यादि —

In this manner, though there are evidences like internal colophonic allusions, the manuscript tradition and the commentatorial assertions in support of proving the *Devīmāhātmya* to be forming a part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the Modern Scholars like[3] F. E. Pargiter, R. C. Hazra, V. S Agrawal, P. V. Kane and

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3 (a) Pargiter, F. E. : *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, (trans.), Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1904 Intro. p. Vi. He writes, " The *Devīmāhātmya* stands by itself as a Later interpolation ".

(b) Agrawala V. S : *Devīmāhātmyam—The Glorification of the Great Goddess*, All India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, 1968, Preface p. V.

He writes, " So far as the *Devīmāhātmya* is concerned there seems no objection to the view that the same was originally written as a self-sufficient text of independent existence and then it found its way into the present text of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* ".

(c) Kane, P. V. : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1977, pp. 901-902 He writes, " A porton of this *Purāṇa* is called *Devīmāhātmya* or *Saptaśatī* (chapters 78-90 of Venk ed. and 81-93 of B. I. edition) and is deemed by Modern Sanskrit scholars to be an interpolation. But even if it is an interpolation it must have been made before the 10th century, as the oldest known ms. of it is dated 998 A.D. and probably before 600 A.D. ".

(d) Hazra, R. C. : *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, Second edition, 1975, pp. 12-13.

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others consider the *Devīmāhātmya* portion to be a later interpolation in the main text of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* from the point of view of Higher Criticism.

We, however, respect the manuscript as well as the commentatorial tradition that has handed down the text of the *Devīmāhātmya* as an integral portion of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* for the last so many centuries; which may be traced back even to more than one thousand years. This portion of the text containing the glorification of the Great Goddess has obtained tremendous popularity among the religious aspirants and the devotees of the Goddess. Just as the *Bhagavadgītā*, though forming a part of the *Mahābhārata* has a great value and importance as a separate treatise, similarly, the *Devīmāhātmya* also has a great importance and significance as an independent treatise for the worship of the Goddess. The *Bhagavadgītā* has seven hundred verses and hence the Saint Jñāneśvara describes it as a *Saptaśatī*.[4] The commentators have tried to explain it as to how the total verses of the *Devīmāhātmya* also known as *Saptaśatī* can be rounded off to seven hundred. The evidence of the Saint Jñāneśvara can also be a proof for believing the present text of the *Devīmāhātmya* to be famous as the *Saptaśatī* even during his period. (i.e. 1275-1296 A.D.).

Just as the *Bhagavadgītā* has been commented upon by the traditional scholars right from the remote past upto the Modern times, the *Devīmāhātmya* has also been similarly a text that has been commented upon by ancient and Modern scholars Prof. Thomas Coburn observes,[5] "The *Devīmāhātmya* has gathered around itself no fewer than sixty-seven commentaries". Only a few of them have been published, while a great number of them is still in manuscript form. Critically editing, publishing and a study of all such commentaries is a long-left desideratum.

(2) *Commentaries on the Devīmāhātmya* :—

The wide circulation and the popularity of the text can be inferred from the enormous commentatorial literature available on it. Like the *Bhagavadgītā*, it has been commented upon by several traditional scholars, throughout India. The information about different commentators and their commentaries collected from different sources (Like NCC[6]., CC[7]., Catalogues of mss. and the Printed

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4 *Kī gītā he Saptaśatī | Mantrapratipādya Bhagavatī | Mohamahiṣā muktī | ānandalī as ||*
Sakhare Nanamaharaj : *Sārtha Jñāneśvarī*, Bombay, eighth edition, 1941, adh. 18, verse 78, ovi no. 1666.

5 Thomas, B. Coburn : *Encountering the Goddess*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1991, Page 5 also see p. 8 and p. 121.

6 K Kunjunni Raja : *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, University of Madras, Madras, 1977, Vol 9 pp. 143-149

7 Aufrecht, Theoder : *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Fraz, Steiner Verlag G MBH Wiesbaden. Part 1, 1962 p. 261, Vol. II, p. 56, Vol. III, p. 206

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commentaries etc) is presented here for the first time. Many commentaries are not even noticed by NCC.. Prof. Thomas Coburn has not given any details about sixty-seven commentaries, alluded to by him. The names of commentators are alphabetically arranged, as it is very difficult to arrive at the chronological order in the absence of a detailed information about each one of them.

1 *Ātmārāma Vyāsa*—There is a commentary by Ātmārāma Vyāsa on the *Devīmāhātmya* recorded in the Catalogue of mss. of North-West provinces no. 252 No more information about the author or the commentary is available.

2 *Ānanda Paṇḍita*—There is also one commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* by Ānanda Paṇḍita. It is mentioned by Gustav Oppert (*Lists of mss. in Private Libraries of South India*, Madras, 1885, II 8103). No more information is available.

3 *Ekanātha Bhaṭṭa*-He wrote a commentary entitled *Anvayārthaprakāśikā* on the *Devīmāhātmya* (L. 2555, NCC Vol. III p 50).

4 *Kavikaṅkaṇa Cakravartin*—Many Bengali Scholars are known by the title of Kavikaṅkaṇa. The name of his commentary is *Sammohinī* (see NCC III p. 265b, Dacca 1453 (inc.), 2137 (inc.)).

5 *Kāmadeva Kavivallabha* –The NCC. (Vol. IX p. 146) mentions him as a commentator on the *Devīmāhātmya* (L. 357).

6 *Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa Bhaḍa*—alias Viśvanātha alias Śivānandanātha of Benares. He was a son of Jayarāma Bhaṭṭa and Vārāṇasī and grandson of Śivācārya and pupil of maternal grandfather Ananta. He was worshipper of Śiva and Śakti and was a follower of *Dakṣiṇācāra* and a critic of *Vāmācāra*. He was posterior to Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita and might have lived in 17th or 18th century. He was a prolific writer and his works are mainly compilations on Tantras and Purāṇas. (See Chintaharan Chakravarti " Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa and his works " *JASB* letters 1938 pp. 45 -(5). There are about 67 works of the author (cf. NCC. Vol. IV p. 129 for details). His commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* is called *Vivṛti*, the mss. of which are deposited at Mithila, NW 250, RASB V. 3719, Varendra 1789 and Baroda 5550. In the beginning of the commentary, it is recorded—

टीका श्रीकाशीनाथेन देवीस्तोत्रसुबोधिनी ।
तन्यते सन्मुदे यत्नाद् विद्याकूटनिवासिना ॥

The colophon of the ms. gives us information as follows—

इति विद्याकूटनिवास-वत्सगोत्रश्रीकाशीनाथभट्टाचार्यकृतदेवीमाहात्म्यविवृतिः संपूर्णा ।

Thus, this clearly points out that he belonged to *Vatsa gotra* and that he was a resident of *Vidyākūṭa* (is it Modern Benares ?).

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7 *Kṛṣṇapurī Bhagavān*—He was also known as Kṛṣṇapurī Bhikṣu. He was a disciple of Mādhavapurī. His commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* is entitled *Dīpikā*. Many mss. of this commentary are enumerated in the NCC (Vol IX, p. 146). Besides his above mentioned commentary, he also wrote commentaries on other works namely the *Kanakadhārāstava* of Śaṅkarācārya, the *Viṣṇukeśādipādāntastuti*(?) and the *Śivakeśādipādastava*. (See NCC. Vol. IV, p. 331).

8 Kṛṣṇānanda—The name of his commentary is *Siddhāntamañjarī* (NCC. V, p. 12, Hpr. I. 177).

9 *Kevala*—He was probably a pupil of Vinoda and Gopāla and was a native of *Śrī Kanakeśvarīsthala*. The name of his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* is *Ślokārthadīpikā*. (NCC. Vol. V, p. 50; Hpr. III. 145).

10 *Gaṅgānārāyaṇa Vidyāsāgara*–He was a commentator from Bengal. He was also known as Gaṅgānārāyaṇa Vidyāsāgara Bhaṭṭācārya (RASB V. 3720).

The Colophon to Ch. I reads—

इति श्रीगंगानारायणविद्यासागरभट्टाचार्यविरचितायां देवीमाहात्म्यटीकायां मधुकैटभवधः ।

He was a son of Kṛṣṇarāma Nyāyālaṅkāra. The RASB V. 3720, ms. begins thus—

मार्कण्डेयपुराणान्तर्गतसप्तशतीस्तुतिः ।
या तस्याः कुरुते टीकां गंगानारायणो द्विजः ।
दूरदर्शिकृष्णरामन्यायालङ्कारदेहजः ॥
विद्याविनोदाचार्यावैर्व्याख्या यद्यपि सूरिभिः ।
कृता तथापि यत्नोऽयं कुत्रचित् कुत्रचिन्मम ॥

The above statement of the commentator clearly points out that he was posterior to Vidyāvinodācārya—a commentator of the *Devīmāhātmya* from Bengal. (See below). Besides the RASB, NCC. Vol. V, p. 208 also mentions two other mss. (Sk. Ray. 484, SSPC. III. I. 45 (inc.)).

11 *Gadādhara Tarkācārya*—

He was a son of Jīvācārya. He was a younger contemporary of Jagadīśa and was a student of Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa. He was a teacher of Jayarāma Tarkālaṅkāra. He was a Varendra Brahmin originally hailing from Lakṣmīcapar in the district of Pabna. He is believed to have flourished between 1599 or 1604 A.D. and 1703 or 1709 A.D. He was a prolific writer and he has written numerous treatises (see NCC. V, p. 295 for details). His commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* was named as *Subodhinī*. The ms. (RASB V. 3717) is dated *Śake* 1724 (i.e. 1802 A.D.). He must be definitely earlier than that period. The NCC. (Vol. IX p. 146) mentions many mss. of his commentary.

12 *Garuḍa Miśra*—He seems to be a Maithili commentator of the *Devīmāhātmya*. The NCC. (Vol. V p. 325 and Vol. IX p. 146) mentions one manuscript (CPB 2248) of his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya*.

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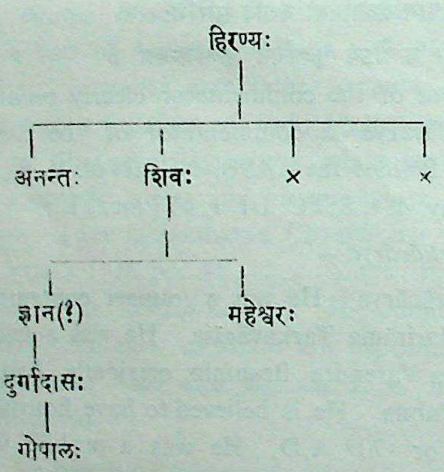
13 *Gopāla Cakravartin*—Gopāla Cakravartin (Banerji) was a son of Durgādāsa of *Vandyaghaṭīya* family of Gayaghaḍa. He was a disciple of Kavicandra alias Vaṁśīvadana. He flourished in 17th century A.D. Jyotiṣawork-named *Jyotīratna*, was composed by him in *Śake* 1 94 (i.e. 1672 A.D.) (see RASB VI. Intro. IXX). His commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* is named as the *Tattvaprakāśikā*. Three editions of it are published from Calcutta (see NCC. Vol. IX p. 146). The other works of the commentator are the *Jyotīratna* (Jy. Hpr. II. 75); the *Vasudhātukārikā* (gr. Dacca 51B), the Commentary *Sārārthadīpikā* on the *Saṁkṣiptasāra* of Kramadīśvara (Adyar D. VI 715-16), a commentary on the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (RASB V. 3619 (inc.) (NCC. Vol. VI p. 137).

The family pedigree given at the beginning of his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* is as follows :

आसीद् वन्द्यकुलोज्ज्वलो गयघडः श्रीमान् हिरण्याभिधः ।
चत्वारस्तनयाः ++ समभवन् येषामनन्तोऽग्रजः ॥
ख्यातो योऽप्यपरः शिव. शिव इव द्वावेव तस्यात्मजौ ।
ख्यातौ ज्ञानमहेश्वरौ द्विजवरौ दुर्गाभिधो ज्ञानजः ।
दुर्गादाससुतः श्रीमान् गोपालकृतिना पुनः ।
अकरोच्चण्डिकाटीकामेतां तत्त्वप्रकाशिकाम् ॥



The commentator Gopāla Miśra of the *Devīmāhātmya* mentioned by the NCC. (Vol. IX, p. 146 Hpr. I. 179) may most probably be the commentator Gopāla Cakravartin the author of the *Tattvaprakāśikā*.

14 *Gopīnātha*—The NCC. (Vol. VI, p. 161) records two mss. (B. II 80 and Oudh. XIII. 44) of Gopīnātha's commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya*.

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15 *Govindarāma Siddhāntavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya*—He was a son of Rāmadeva. He was also known as Govindarāmatarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya (NCC. Vol. VI, p. 205). Two edit ons of his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* were published in the late 19th century with Bengali translations from Calcutta (NCC. Vol. IX, p. 147). Besides his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya*, he wrote commentaries on (1) the *Ānandalaharīvistāracandrikā* on the *Ānandalaharī*, (2) the *Kaumudī* or *Mahimnastavaprakāśikā* on the *Mahimnastava* (composed in 1731 A.D.), the *Dhīratoṣiṇi* on the *Ānandalaharī* (*Saundaryalaharī*) composed in 1692 A.D. and the *Dhīra, añj(an)ikā* on the *Kumārasaṁbhava*. His commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* is called *Govindarāmā*. (NCC. Vol. VI, p 205). The date of composition of his commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī* is 1692 A.D. and that of the commentary on the *Mahimnastotra* is 1731 A.D. He, therefore, must have flourished during that period.

16 *Gauḍapāda*—The *Advaita* philosopher Gauḍapīda was traditionally considered to be the teacher of Govinda and *Paramaguru* of Śaṅkarācārya. The name *Gauḍa* suggests that he must have belonged to Bengal and flourished in about 5th century A.D. Many works are ascribed to Gauḍapāda, They are as follows :

(1) the *Gauḍapādakārikā*, (2) the commentary on the *Uttaragītā* from the *Mahābhārata*, *Āśvamedhika*, (3) the *Kārikāvalī*—summary of the *Durgāsaptaśatī* in 32 verses, ( ) the *Vivaraṇa* on (*Nṛsiṁha*) *Uttaratāpanīya*, (5) the *Pañcīkaraṇa*, (6) the *Śaktimīmāṁsā* or the *Gauḍapādasūtra* or the *Śrī Vidyāratnasūtra*, (7) the commentary on *Īśvarakṛṣṇa*'s *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, (8) the *Saubhāgyodayastuti*. His commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* is entitled the *Cidānandavilāsa* (Burnell 197b). (NCC. Vol. VI, p. 219). It is difficult to distinguish among several Gauḍapādas, who might have written these treatises.

17 *Gaurīvara Śarman* –His commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* called the *Vidvanmanoramā* was completed and revised by Rāmacandra Vācaspati, by adding the substance of all available commentaries. One ms. (Dacca 2553 (inc.)) is dated *Śake* 1515 (i.e. 1593 A.D.). He was a follower of the *Saṅkṣiptasāra* school of grammar (NCC. Vol. VI, p. 241).

18 *Caturdhara Miśra*—His commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* has been published along with other six commentaries (Venkateshwar Bombay 1917). The colophons record it as *Caturdharīvyākhyāna*. It is also known as *Miśravyākhyāna* or commentary *Durgāvabodhinī*. The beginning of the commentary, reads—

श्रीचतुर्भुजश्चरामृतान्धसा चण्डिकासुचरितं विविच्यते ।

At the end, it reads—

देवीमाहात्म्यतात्पर्यटीका दुर्गाविबोधिनी ।
दुर्गाभक्तिप्रदानेन कृतिरास्तामियं चिरम् ॥

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This shows that the name of the commentary by Caturdhara Miśra was the *Durgāvabodhinī*, but the colophon records it to be the *Subodhinī*, which is curious. The colophon is as follows—

श्रीचतुर्धरमिश्रविरचितायां देवीमाहात्म्यतात्पर्यटीकायां सुबोधिन्यां सप्तशतीभाष्यं संपूर्णम् ।

The NCC. (Vol. IX, p. 147) notes that Caturbhuja Miśra wrote the commentary *Durgābhāvabodhinī*, or *Durgāmāhātmyāvabodhinī* or *Durgāvabodhinī*. It is quoted by Rāmanātha in the *Trikāṇḍaviveka* and by Śiva in his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* (L. 3319). On p. 315, the NCC. (Vol. VI, p. 315) notes that his surname was Aupamanyava. His date is c. 1412 A.D. One ms of the commentary is dated 1426 A.D. (Bombay Uni. Lib. 4047). Besides his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya*, he has written (1) A work namely the *Kathākaumudī* or a resume of the *Mahābhārata* story, (2) the commentary *Vākyadīpikā* on the *Mahābhārata* (printed). He is referred to by Sṛṣṭidhara in his commentary on the *Mahābhārata* (RASB V. 3402). It seems that Caturbhuja Miśra and Caturdhara Miśra are identical.

19 *Jagaddhara* -

He was a son of Ratnadhara Dharmādhikārin and Damayantī and a grandson of Vidyādhara and a great grandson of Rāmacandra (Rāmeśvara) in the family of Caṇḍeśvara. He is said to have flourisned between 1275 and 1473 A.D. Some mss. of his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* are available (NCC. Vol. IX, p. 147). It is referred to as Caṇḍikāṭippaṇī in his commentary on the *Mudrārākṣasa*. He was a prolific writer and wrote commentaries on different works. He also composed some independent treatises. The NCC. (Vol. VII pp.130-131) enumerates the following works, besides his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya*.

(1) The commentary *Sāradīpikā* on the *Gītagovinda*, (2) the *Citrakāvya* and its commentary *Cāṭucarcā*, (3) the commentary *Pradīpa* on the *Bhagavadgītā*, (4) the commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava* (ptd.), (5) the commentary on the *Mudrārākṣasa*, (6) the commentary *Rasadīpikā* on the *Meghadūta*, (7) the commentary *Tattvadīpanī* on the *Vāsavadattā* (quoted by Śivarāma in his commentary on the *Vāsavadattā*, (8) the commentary on the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa (ptd.), (9) the *Saṅgītasarvasva* (quoted profusely by Rucipati and Rāghava Bhaṭṭa). He refers to this work in his commentary on the *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, (10) the commentary on the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (ptd.),(11) the *Rasikasarvasva*, which is quoted in his commentary on the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, (12) *Vasantotsavakāvya*, (13) *Vaidyasarvasva*.

20 *Jayanārāyaṇa*–The NCC. (Vol. VII, p. 179 and Vol. IX, p. 147) refers to a commentary by this scholar. (BORI 453 of 1884-86). Peters. III. p. 399 (No. 45).

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21 *Jayarāma*—The name of his commentary is *Daṁśoddhāra*. It seems that his name was also Rājārāma. The commentary *Daṁśoddhāra* is published along with six other commentaries (Venk. Bombay). From the colophons, it is clear that his name was Rājārāma. The name of his father was Ḍhuṇḍhirāja Bhaṭṭa, with nickname (*Upanāma*) Ulla (or Madulla). He was best among scholars (*Vidvatkulaśiroratnam*). He was well-versed in various lores, constituting prose and verse compositions, and whose scholarship had spread in different directions. He informs us that Girijā or Pārvatī was their family deity, (*Kuladaivata*).—

In the introductory verses, it is stated—

विद्वत्कुलशिरोरत्नं नत्वा तातं समासतः ।
दंशोद्धारं सप्तशत्यास्तनोमि विदुषां मुदे ॥

The colophon to the first *adhyāya* is as follows—

श्रीमदुल्लोपनामद्दुण्डिराजभट्टसूनुराजारामविरचिते सप्तशतीदंशोद्धारे प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।

At the end of the commentary, it is stated—

सप्तशत्या मया यस्तु दंशोद्धारो यथामति ।
निबद्धस्तेन गिरिजा प्रीयान्नः कुलदैवतम् ॥

The colophon to the last *Adhyāya* is also noteworthy as it adds some information regarding his father—

इति श्रीमत्समस्तगद्यपद्यानेकानवद्यविद्योद्द्योतोद्योतितदिक्चक्रश्रीमदुल्लोपनामद्दुंढिराजभट्टसूरिसूनुराजारामेण विरचिते सप्तशतीदंशोद्धारे त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः ॥ १३ ॥

22 *Devīdatta*–The NCC. (Vol. IX, p. 147) mentions one ms. (Allahabad 72) of his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya*. There are many Devīdattas, as per details available in the NCC. (Vol. IX, p. 135). But therein, information about this commentator Devīdatta is not found.

23 *Dhṛtidāsa*—He wrote a *ṭīkā* on the *Devīmāhātmya*. The NCC. (Vol. IX, p. 147) notes two sources of the commentary, (Hpr. IV. 120 and Mithilā), out of which one ms. (Hpr. IV. 126) is dated 1926 A D. It is, therefore, clear that he must have flourished before this date. He is quoted by Śiva in his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya*, (L. 3319). The NCC. (Vol. IX, p. 304) adds that he was from Assam and had the title *Caturānanaviśvāsa*. Besides his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya*, he is said to have written commentaries as follows- The *Sandarbhadīpikā* on the *Gītagovinda*, the commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśam* and also on the *Śiśupālavadha* (which is mentioned by Candraśekhara in his commentary on the *Śiśupālavadha*)

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24 *Nantārāṇa* (or Nantārarāya Varaṇavīra ?)—He was *Paramahaṁsa Parivrājaka ācārya* (i.e. a *Sannyāsin*).

His commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* called the *Pañjikā* is mentioned in the Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit and other Indian mss. of the Chandra Shum Shree collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. No. 455.

At the beginning, the commentator states—

यथावद्दृष्टे विद्वांसश्चण्डिकापाठनाकरम् ।
तथास्य क्षयितुं यत्नो नन्तारणस्य धीमतः ॥

The colophon reads as follows—

इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यनंतारारायश्रीवरणवीरविरचितदुर्गा(स्तो)त्रसप्तशतीपंजिका समाप्ता ।

From the post-colophon entry, it is evident that the ms. was written by the scribe in *Saṁvat* 1600 (1544 A D.) on the 12th day of dark fortnight of *Śrāvaṇa*. Hence the commentary must have been composed before 1544 A.D. The post-colophon entry of the ms. (No. 455) is as follows—

संवत् १६०० वर्षे श्रावण वदि १२

This commentary is not noticed by NCC.

25 *Narasiṁha Cakravartin*—

He was a son of *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Kavicandra. The name of his commentary is the *Devīmāhātmyamañjarī*. The NCC. (Vol. IX, 147) notes many mss. of the text. From the name, it is evident that he was a Bengali commentator.

26 *Nāgeśa alias Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa*—

He was a son of Śiva Bhaṭṭa and Satī of Kāḷe family of *Mahārāṣṭrian* Brahmins. The colophons of his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* are note-worthy from this point of view— col. to ch. I—

इति शिवभट्टसुतसतीगर्भजनागोजीभट्टकृतसप्तशतीव्याख्याने प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।...col. to ch. 13 —इति काल (?ले)उपनामकशिवभट्टसुतसतीगर्भजनागोजीभट्टकृते..... ।

He was a prolific writer. His scholarly treatises on different *śāstras* like Grammar, *Dharmaśāstra*, *Alaṅkāra*, *Tantra* etc. have been well-received by the scholarly world. He was considered to be one of the greatest authorities on grammar.

He was patronised by Rāmavarman (R Siṁhan) of Śṛṅgiberapura, near Allahabad. He was a pupil of Harikṛṣṇa Dīkṣita (who was a grandson of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita).

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Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa was a preceptor of Gaṅgārāma, Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa and his son Bālaśarman. His literary activity extended between 1670-1750 A.D. He wrote more than 60 treatises, out of which about 13 are on the *Dharmaśāstra*, about 6 on the *Alaṅkāraśāstra*, about 21 on the grammar and about 26 on *Tantra* and other miscellaneous subjects. For reasons of space, details are not given here. For further details, the interested scholars may consult (1) NCC. Vol. X, p. 20, (2) Gode, P. K., *Studies in Ind. Lit. Hist.* III pp. 212-19; Kane, P. V.: HDS. I, pp. 453-56.

27 Nāmajośī Bhaṭṭa—

There is one ms. of Nāmajośī Bhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* (BORI No. 261 of 1895-1902), having folios 83. The date of the ms. is *Saṁvat* 1733, (i.e. 1677 A.D.), which indicates that the commentator must be of the period earlier than that. This commentary is not noticed by the NCC.

28 *Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita* (*Bedarkar*)—The name of his commentary is the *Laghuśāntanavī*, which is an abridgement of the commentary by Śantanu Cakravartin. He was a son of Nṛsiṁhapaṇḍita and Mahālasā. The NCC. (Vol. IX p. 146) has noted some mss. of his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya*. Besides these, there are two mss. of the same in BORI (151/1887-91 and 265/1880-81) and one in the Bombay Univ. Library (No. 4056), which are noteworthy. He has also written one treatise namely, the *Nakṣatra-satrahautraprayoga* (Ujjain Latest Additions 521) and a commentary *Prakāśa* on the *Naiṣadhīyacarita of Śrīharṣa* (ptd. N. S. Press, Bombay 1952).

29 *Nīlakaṇṭha*—The NCC. (Vol. IX p. 148) mentions a commentary *Vivaraṇa* by Nīlakaṇṭha (Adyar). The NCC. (Vol. X pp. 177-178) gives information about Nīlakaṇṭha Śaiva, who was a son of Raṅganātha and Lakṣmī and a grandson of Mayūreśvara. He is said to have flourished in the period not earlier than the middle of 18th century A.D. He was a *Mahārāṣṭrian* and was a pupil of Kāśīnātha and Śrīdhara He has composed the *Saptaśatikavacavivaraṇa* (Stein 238) and the *Saptaśatyaṅgaṣaṭkavyākhyāna* (Adyar II. p. 221a, RASB VIII. A-6409-10). The former may be the part of the latter. The Bodleian Library (No. 456) has one ms. of Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Kavaca*, the *Argalā* and the *Kīlaka Stotras* of the *Devīmāhātmya*, the last colophon of which is as follows—

इति शैवोपनामकरंगनाथसुतलक्ष्मीगर्भजनीलकण्ठभट्टकृतं कीलकविवरणं समाप्तम्।

The other works of Nīlakaṇṭha Śaiva, as enlisted in the NCC. (Vol X pp. 177-178), are (1) The commentary *Mantravyākhyāprakāśikā* on the *Kātyāyanatantra*, (2) the commentary *Kāmakalārahasya* on the *Kāmakalāvilāsa of Puṇyānanda*. (Referred to in author's own commentary on the *Devībhāgavata*

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(IV. XV. 12 Calcutta ed.), (3) the commentary *Candrikā* on the *Kenopaniṣad*, referred to in his commentary on the *Devībhāgavata* (IV. XIX. 15 Calcutta ed.), (4) the commentary on *Devīgītā*, referred to in his commentary on the *Devībhāgavata*, (VII. 34.50, 35.46, 62.40, 40-6), (5) the commentary *Tilaka* on the *Devībhāgavatapurāṇa*, written at the instance of Ratnajit, printed Bombay. (6) *Devībhāgavatastuti* or *Bhāgavatastuti*, referred to in his commentary on the *Devībhāgavata* (intro. p 38), (7) the commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (*Mādhyandin* Recension), referred to in his commentary on the *Devībhāgavata*, (8) *Śaktitattvavimarśinī* and com. (Mithila, Stein 225, Extr. 58).

Aufrecht mentions a commentary *Mantrasaṅkhyāprakāśikā*.

30 *Nilāmbarācārya*—A commentator on the *Devīmāhātmya*, whose commentary is being edited and published in this book.

31 *Pītāmbara*—Pitāmbara was a son of Haritāmra. His commentary *Caturarthikā* or *Prakāśikā* on the *Gāthāsaptaśati* of Hāla is printed (NCC. 12 p. 102, NCC. 5 p. 344a). His commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* is called the *Durgāsandehabhedikā*, (see NCC IX. p. 148a). Some mss. of the commentary are available (NCC. IX, p. 148).

32 *Puruṣottamadeva*—

There is one commentary by *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Puruṣottamadeva, one incomplete ms. of which is recorded (Vaṅgīya p. 109) in the NCC. (Vol. IX, p. 148).

33 *Perudikṣita*—He was a son of Lakṣmaṇārya of Paṭṭasa family. He wrote a commentary namely *Mantrakairava* on the *Devīmāhātmya* (MT 256).

Colophon—षट्सान्वयपाथोधिपेरुदीक्षितचन्द्रमाः ।
स्फुटीचकार दुर्गाया माहात्म्ये मन्त्रकैरवम् ॥

षट्सान्वयकलशसिन्धुमृगेक्षुचाकरलक्ष्मणतनूभवेन पेरुदीक्षितेन विरचिते श्रीदेवीमाहात्म्यव्याख्याने मन्त्रकैरवे त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः ।

34 Bhagīratha—There is one commentary named the *Tātparyaṭīkā Bhāgīrathī on the Devīmāhātmya*. (Raghunātha Temple Jammu No. 3629 pages 45 incomplete).

The NCC. Vol. IX, p. 148, mentions the name of the commentary by Bhagīratha to be *Vijayā*. He is said to be an author of commentaries on *Kāvyas* of Māgha etc. of the family of Pitamuṇḍi. It is said to be printed with other commentaries in Nirnaya Sagar ed. 1894, but this information is doubftul,

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as the text of commentary of Bhagīratha published along with other commentaries in the Venkateshwar Press, Bombay is called the *Jagaccandracandrikā*. In the beginning of this commentary, it is stated—

श्रीहेरम्बं नमस्कृत्य गुरून्नीलं सरस्वतीम् ।
प्रकाश्यते सप्तशती मन्त्रहोमविभाजनम् ॥

कूर्माचलाधिराजेन्द्रज्ञानचन्द्रनृपात्मजः ।
श्रीकुमारो जगच्चन्द्रस्तत्सेव्यस्ति भगीरथः ॥

...हितकुलोत्पन्नो हर्षदेवसुतो बुधः ।
तेनेयं क्रियते टीका श्रीजगच्चन्द्रचन्द्रिका ॥

गोविन्दकारिकाणामावसथ्याग्निसुसेविना ।
यत्नाच्च क्रियते ग्रन्थश्चिरायुर्भवतात्प्रभुः ॥

His preceptor was Nīla. The king Jñānacandra's son was Jagaccandra. Bhagīratha was a servant (protege) of that king. He was the son of Harṣadeva. He used to worship the *āvasathya* fire. Kaṇva Govinda had composed the *Saptaśatīmantrahomavibhāgakārikās*. The commentator Bhagīratha had written a commentary on them and not directly on the *Saptaśatī*. The Prince Jagaccandra also had given patronage to Balabhadra, who was his priest in *Somayāgas*. Bhagīratha was his *gotrāpatya* (born in the same family or *gotra*) (see colophon to Adh. 1).

35 *Bhāskararāya Bhāratī Dīkṣita*—He was a son of Gambhīrarāya. His commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* named *Guptavatī* is a very famous and authoritative treatise of *tantra* philosophy. It is published alongwith other six commentaries (Venk. Press ed., Bombay). He was an *agnihotrin* and was a great adhearant of Philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya. He bows down to Śaṅkarācārya, alongwith his four disciples at the outset

Even at the commencement of his commentary on the *Devīkavaca*, he extols Śaṅkarācārya and his four disciples. In the concluding verse, he adds that he was a son of Gambhīrarāḍ Bhāratī (Dīkṣita), who was a resident of Kāśī and was the wise among *Somayājī* Brāhmins. The family deity of Bhāskararāya was *Śrīcandralā* at the *Sannati Kṣetra*, on the bank of Bhīmā. In the colophon, he describes his father to be '*Padavākyapramāṇapārāvarīṇadhurīṇa*' and '*Sarvatantrasvatantra*'.

cf. श्रीकाशीपुरवासिसोमपसुधीगंभीरराड्भारती-
पुत्रेणाग्निचिता मया रचितया चण्डीस्तुतेष्टीकया ।
या नन्दादिषु सप्तमी भ्रमरिणी भीमातटे सन्नति-
क्षेत्रे नः कुलदेवता वसति सा श्रीचन्द्रला प्रीयताम् ॥

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इति श्रीमत्पदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावरीणधुरीणसर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रश्रीमद्गंभीररायभारतीदीक्षितात्मजभास्कर-रायभारतीदीक्षितमहाग्निचिता विरचिता गुप्तवती समाख्या सप्तशतीव्याख्या समाप्ता ।

The Bombay University Library Catalogue (Page 484) notes that the Date of composition of Bhāskararāya's work namely..*the Nityotsavanibandha*.....is 1745 A.D. He must have flourished in a period earlier to that.

However CC. (Vol I, p. 411) mentions his date as 1729 (?). Many commentaries and works of Bhāskararāya are mentioned in CC. (Vol. I pp. 411-412). " Bhāskararāya may be taken to have flourished between the last quarter of the 17th and the second half of the 18th centuries ", perhaps as late as 1768..... ..Since we know that Bhāskararāya's commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* known as the *Guptavatī* (containing what is ' Hidden ') was completed at Cidambaram toward the end of his career, probably in 1741, Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa's commentary would appear to have been composed somewhat earlier. ". (Thomas B. Coburn, *Encountering the Goddess*, p. 122).

He refers to his commentary on the *Lalitāsahastranāma* in his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* (8 27), which clearly shows that the former is earlier than the latter.

36 *Abhinavaguptācārya*—Aufrecht (CC. Vol. III. p. 56b) mentions a commentary *Guptavatī* by Abhinavagupta (AK. 249). There is one complete, paper ms. of the commentary *Guptavatī* by Abhinavaguptācārya (BORI/249/ 1894-95) having folios 93. It is dated *Saṁvat* 1920 (i.e. 1864 A.D.)

37 *Bhaṭṭasūri*—This commentator was a son of Trilocana, (NCC. Vol. IX p. 148).

38 *Bhīmasena*—This commentator was a grandson of Muralīdhara. The NCC. (Vol. IX p. 148) mentions some mss. of the work (Alwar 2180. Extra. 639. Oudh X. 6. Pheh. 1).

39 *Mādhavānanda Cakravartin*—A Bengali commentator, who is said to have composed his commentary *Subodhinī* in 1609 A.D. The NCC. (Vol. IX p. 148), mentions some mss. of the text (Hpr. III. 146, IV. 125 dated 1790 A.D.).

40 *Rāghavanātha Cakravartin*—A Bengali Commentator of the *Devīmāhātmya*. He wrote the commentary named the *Tātparyakaumudī*. (Hpr. I. 184, II. 105. NCC. Vol. IX p. 148).

41 *Raghunātha Maskarin*—He was also known as Raghunāthāśrama alias Rāmāśrama. He lived at the time of king Nārāyaṇa of *Candravaṁśa*. The NCC. notes many mss. of the Commentary (NCC. Vol. IX p. 148). The name of his Commentary is *Setu*. (NCC Vol. IX p. 148). He is frequently quoted by Sarayuprasad Dvivedi in his commentary on the *Saptaśatī*.

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42 *Ravīndra*—There is one commentary by Ravīndra, a ms. of which is noticed to be at Oudh (VIII. 4) (NCC. Vol. IX p. 148).

43 *Rāghava Jhā*—He was a commentator of the *Saptaśatī*, the Vol IX p. 148 notes its ms. from Mithila.

44 Rāmakṛṣṇa—Rāmakṛṣṇa's commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* is known as the *Kaumudī*. The NCC. notes some mss. of it (NCC. Vol. IX p. 148). The RASB ms. no. 3715 is dated *Śake* 1625 i.e. 1703 A.D. The commentator, therefore must have flourished in a period before that date. Rāmakṛṣṇa was also a commentator of the *Mahābhārata*[8].

45 *Rāmakṛṣṇa Śāstrin* –He is said to have composed a commentary called the *Caṇḍikāsaṅgraha*, of which only two mss. (NW 188, Radh. 26) are recorded. (NCC. Vol. IX p. 148).

46 Rāmacandra Vācaspati—His commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* called the *Saptaśatīviveka* is noted in the NCC. Three mss. of the same are available. (Hpr. I. 186, Oudh XI. 4, XII. 36) (NCC. Vol. IX p. 148).

47 *Rāmanātha Tarkavāgīśa*—The *ṭīkā* i.e. commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* is noticed at Varendra (1798), as noted in the NCC. Vol. IX p. 148.

48 *Rāmavarman Koccuṇṇi Tampurān*—This commentator of 1858-1926 A.D. was in Cranganore Palace in the former Cochine State (NCC. Vol. IX p. 149. *Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature* p. 250).

49 *Rāmānandatīrtha*—One ms. of his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* is noticed in the NCC. (Vol. IX p. 149, L. 1045).

50 *Rudranātha*—There is one ms. of his commentary which is deposited at Mithila (NCC. Vol. IX p. 149)

51 *Lālamaṇi*—He was a son of Nanda Śarman. His commentary *Puspāñjali* is available at some places (Alwar 2178; Extra. 637 NCC. Vol. IX p. 149).

52 *Vādīndra Cakravartī Śaṅkara Śarman*—

He was a son of Sadvidyālaṅkāra Sānanda Pāṭhakācārya. His commentary called *Dīpikā* (*?*) is noticed at some places (Dacca 4447; L. 2063, Varendra 163./655, NCC. Vol. IX p. 149).

53 *Vidyāvinodācārya*—His commentary is called the *Tattvabodhinī* or the *Tattvāvabodhinī*. One of the colophons records that he was *Mahāmahopādhyāya*. He was earlier than Gaṅgānārāyaṇa Vidyāsāgara, as the latter mentions him in his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya*, one of the mss. (of RASB No. 3710) is dated *Śake* 1626 i.e. 1704 A.D., hence the commentator must have flourished before that. The NCC. (Vol. IX p. 149) enumerates many mss. of his commentary.

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8 Sukthankar, V. S. : *Critical studies In the Mahābhārata*, Poona, 1944, Chapter Epic Studies V P. 264

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54 *Virūpākṣâ*- He was known with the title Kavīkaṇṭhābharaṇācārya. His commentary *Tattvadīpikā* or *Caṇḍīślokārthaprakāśa* was composed in 1531 A.D. The NCC. Vol. IX p. 149 notes three mss (Ani. Dacca 975, A.L. 2149, Varendra 20. 1653) of the commentary.

55 *Vīrabhadra*—He wrote the commentary called the *Vīrabhadrī*. The NCC. (Vol. IX p. 149) has noted two mss. of the commentary (Mithila RASB V. 3729 (inc.)). The RASB. ms. is incomplete, but, reads at the end as follows—

यो नित्यं गुरुपादपूजनरतः श्रीमल्लिनाथात्मजः ।
क्षेमश्रीवदनाम्बुजाहिमकरः श्रीवीरभद्रो द्विजः ।
बाला चारुपदाब्जदत्तहृदयो लोकप्रियस्तत्कृतौ ।
टीकायां किल चण्डिकानुचरितेऽध्यायश्चतुर्थो गतः ॥

From this, it is evident that his father's name was Mallinātha and that of his mother was Kṣemaśrī. He was a Brahmin, always intent on worshipping his preceptor i.e. father; He was favourite among people and was devoted to the worship of *Bālā-Tripurasundarī*.

56 *Vṛndāvana Śukla*—He is said to have composed one commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* (NW 252, NCC. Vol. IX p. 149).

57 *Śantanu Cakravartin*—He was a commentator from Modern Rajasthan whose commentary called the *Śāntanavī* has been published alongwith six other commentaries (Venkateshwar Press ed.). He was born in the Royal family of Tomara. His father's name was Uddharaṇa. In the beginning, he states—

.... श्रीतोमरः शंतनुः । *Śloka* 3
शुभंयुः शंतनुः शंयुः सत्कीर्तिस्तोमरान्वयः ।

In the colophon to the *adhyāya* 2, it is recorded—

इति श्रीमद्राजाधिराजश्रीमत्तोमरान्वयश्रीमदुद्धरणात्मजश्रीशंतनुचक्रवर्तिविरचितायां **शान्तनव्यां** चण्डिकामाहात्म्यटीकायां— — ॥ २ ॥

58 *Śiva* or *Śivācārya* or *Śivabhaṭṭa*—Aufrecht mentions Śiva as a commentator on the *Devīmāhātmya* in the CC (II. p. 56) (AS. p. 85. Hpr. 1. 17), Śiva, the commentator is reported to have quoted from the commentary *Devīmāhātmyāvabodhinī* of Caturbhuja and also from the commentary of Dhṛtidāsa (L. 3319). Aufrecht also separately mentions Śivabhaṭṭa as a commentator on the *Devīmāhātmya* (L. 609) (CC. I p. 261). While the NCC. (Vol. IX p. 149) mentions a commentary by Śivācārya entitled the *Devīmāhātmyacandrikā* (As p 85, Dacca 2526 (inc.), Hpr. I. 17, L. 609 and 3319). It seems that the names Śiva, Śivācārya and Śivabhaṭṭa may be of an identical personality. But, it can be ascertainad only after the study of the mss. of these commentaries.

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59 *Sabhācandra*—He was a son of Trilocana. His commentary called the *Caṇḍiprasādinī* is noted in the NCC. (Vol. IX p. 149, Alwar 2175 and Extr. 634).

60 *Sarayūprasāda Dvivedī*—His commentary *Saptaśatīsarvasva* is very exhaustive. It is printed in *Saṁvat* 1972. This great scholar was born in 1892 V.S. (i.e. 1836 A.D.), and was resident of a village called Sanaha, on the bank of river Sarayu to the West of Modern Ayodhyā. His father Rādhākṛṣṇa, the grandfather Veṇīrāma and the great grandfather Jīvarāma—all were traditional scholars. He belonged to the *Mādhyandina* Recension of the *Śulka Yajurveda*. He also belonged to the class of the *Sarayūpārīṇa* Brahmins from U.P. His son was Durgāprasāda. Sarayūprasāda Dvivedī left this world in 1963 V.S. (i.e. 1907 A.D.) He composed several scholarly treatises like—the *Āgamarahasya*, the *Sarvārthakalpadruma*, the *Saptaśatīsarvasva*, the *Paraśurāmasūtravṛtti*, the *Varṇabījaprakāśa*. This commentary is not mentioned by both CC and NCC.

61 Haridāsa—He has composed one commentary entitled *Dīpikā* on the *Devīmāhātmya*. Two mss. of this are deposited in the Government Oriental mss. Library, Madras, (vide their Acc. Nos 9009 and 9019). Both are in *Devanāgarī* script. They are incomplete, paper mss. (P.R. 2512, R. 3762).

Some other commentaries—

Here are details of some commentaries, names of the commentators of which are not available.

62 *Gūḍhārthadīpikā*—The NCC. (Vol. IX p. 146) mentions this commentary, but, the author of it is not mentioned there (MT. 2470, 5342, TCD. 156. Trav. Uni 11054 D. (inc.), L. 1132 E. (inc.), T. 514).

63 *Tātparyakaumudī*—The NCC. (Vol. IX p. 146) mentions this commentary, a ms. of which is deposited at Dacca (1512). The author of it is not known. It may be identical with the commentary *Tātparyakaumudī* by Rāghavanātha Cakravartin, mentioned previously under No. 40 above. But, unless we compare both the mss. it is not advisable to opine.

64 *Pradīpa*—The commentary *Pradīpa* is printed in the book of seven commentaries (Venk. Press ed.). The commentary *Pradīpa* or *Durgāpradīpa*, which is published in this book is only on the *Kavaca*, *Argalā* and *Kīlaka Stotras* and not on the text of the *Devīmāhātmya*. In the Introduction (p. 8) to the book *Saptaśatīsarvasva*, there is a reference to the commentary *Durgāpradīpa* by some Nīlakaṇṭha Svāmī.

65 *Subodhinī*—The NCC (Vol. II p. 146) refers to one anonymous commentary *Subodhinī*. It is composed for one Śivānanda in *Śaka* 1616 i.e. 1694 A.D. (Dacca 2550). The commentaries by Gadādhara, Caturdhara Miśra

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and Mādhavānanda Cakravartin were also known as the *Subodhinī* (see above no. 11, 18 and 39). This commentary may be identical with any of them, but, unless the original mss. of them are compared, it cannot be ascertained.

This much information could be collected from the different sources. The total number sixtyfive, mentioned here may vary with more detailed study of each commentary through the original manuscripts. Prof. Thomas Coburn's allusion to sixtyseven of them may not be taken exactly until the details about each of them are available from his pen. His number may also vary in the light of the above research. In any way, there has been a tremendous commentatorial literature on the *Devīmāhātmya*.

(3) *Nīlāmbarācārya*

Nīlāmbarācārya's commentary—Still Unnoticed

Nīlāmbarācārya is one of such scholar-commentators, whose commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya* has not been much taken notice of by scholars. His commentary is not mentioned in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*[9] nor in the Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.[10] It is not referred to by Prof. Thomas Coburn[11] in both of his books. It is also not mentioned in the list of commentaries prepared by Dr. N. Y. Desai[12] in her published Ph.D. Thesis on the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. Nīlāmbarācārya is also not mentioned in the list presented by Prof. V. S. Agrawala[13] at the end of his book on the *Devīmāhātmya*. Thus, this commentary has hitherto remained unnoticed, and unknown. Hence an attempt is made here to throw some light upon this little-known and rare treatise and its least-known commentator.

Many Nīlāmbaras—

The N.C.C. (Vol. 10 pp. 182-184) has mentioned about eleven scholars, having the name Nīlāmbara and two scholars as having the name Nīlāmbarācārya. The details about them as available in the same are as follows—

1 Nīlāmbara—quoted by Acyuta Cakravartī in his commentary on the *Hāralatā* of Aniruddha, see JASB (NS) XI (1915) 362.

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9 *Op. cit.*

10 *Op. cit.*

11 *Op. cit.*

12 Desai, Nileshvari. Y.: *Ancient Indian Society, Religion and Mythology as Depicted in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Faculty of Arts, M. S. University of Baroda, 1968, Appendix 5, pp. 291-292.

13 *Op. cit.*

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2 Nīlāmbara– Poet Skm. p. 325 (Lahore edn.); verse 2362, (Calcutta, edn.).

3 Nīlāmbara–father of Govardhana (author of the *Āryāsaptaśati*, ptd. K. M. I).

4 Nīlāmbara—C. *Vyākhyā* on *Praśnādhikāra-Jyotiṣa;*
—*Praśnottarārthavijñāna-Jyotiṣa*, Mithilā.

5 Nīlāmbara—C. *Vyākhyā* on *Bhaṇita*(?) *Jyotiṣa*, Mithilā.

6 Nīlāmbara—*Makarandavāsanā-Jyotiṣa*, Mithilā.
—C. *Līlāvatyupapatti* on *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskara, Mithilā. III. 327.
—*Jyotpattivyākhyā;* C. on (*Siddhānta*) *Tattvaviveka* of Kamalākara, Mithilā III. 128.

7 Nīlāmbara Jhā or Ācārya (1825-1883 A D.) Younger brother of Jīvānātha;—*Golāprakāśa* in 5 *adhyāyas*, Mithilā III. 124 (*Jyotpatti*), 258 (*Mahāpraśna*), 333 (*Valana*).

8 Nīlāmbara Jhā—*Aṅkapāśopapatti-Jyotiṣa*, Mithlā —*Kṣetraparibhāṣā*, Mithilā. III. 37,—C. on *Golādhyāya* Mithilā III. 258 (*Mahāpraśna*), 333 (*Valana*), *Golīyarekhāgaṇita-Jyotiṣa*, Mithilā cf. Mithilā, III. 333, printed Banares, 1925,
—*Janmapatrodāharaṇa*—Mithilā III 72,—*Pañcāṅgavāsanā*, Mithilā, III. 163,—*Makarandavāsanā*, Mithilā, III. 248.

9 Nīlāmbara Purohita—*Rasacandrikā* K. 216.

10 Nīlāmbara Miśra–*Manoramācandrikāṭīkā*, grammar K. 86.

11 Nīlāmbara Rājaguru-of *Kauśikagotra*, father of Gadādhara Rājaguru (author of *Gadādharapaddhati*).

The two Nīlāmbarācāryas mentioned therein are—

1 Nīlāmbarācārya—Son of Śaṅkaraṣaṇa; of Kāmarūpa; mentions *Śaka* 1199 (1277 A.D) in his commentary on the *Kātyāyana Śrāddhasūtra;*— O.I. Ms. no. 10229 gives the date of compositions a *Śaka* 1198 (वसुरन्ध्रशिवाब्दे). *Kālakaumudī, dharmaśāstra*, L. 2905;—C. *Śrāddhaprakāśīkā* on *Kātyāyana Śrāddhasūtra;*—C. on *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, mentioned in the previous, RASB V. 3523. On him see J. of the G. Jhā Res. Inst. XIV. i-iv. 1956-57, pp. 75-86; J. of Assam Res. Soc XIV. 1960, p. 94, Quoted in *Malamāsalakṣaṇa* chapter of the *Śuddhikaumudī* of Govindānanda (p. 275 Bib. Ind. ed. 1905).

2 Nīlāmbarācārya—different from the above; probably brother of Pītāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa (1550-1610 A.D.).

– C. *Nītiviveka* on *Kātyāyana Śrāddhasūtra* (first chapter of this commentary is called *Śrāddhakāṇḍa;* see J. of the G. Jhā R. I. XIV. 1957, pp. 84-86.

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No biographical details available –

No biographical information is found anywhere in his commentary on the *Devīmāhātmya*, in the absence of which it is really very difficult to surmise anything regarding him. It is also not possible to decide anything regarding the identity or otherwise of our author Nīlāmbarācārya with any of the above mentioned scholars. With the help of the study of his commentary itself, we can, however, make some inferences, regarding the commentator, based purely on the internal evidences The name of the commentator is Nīlāmbara. The title *ācārya* attached to his name may be an honorific appellation. The colophons of the commentary have both kinds of readings—*ācārya* Nīlāmbara and Nīlāmbarācārya. He might be a teacher or a preceptor, having a good number of students, attending his lectures. The present commentary itself may be some sort of notes, prepared and composed during the course of his teaching process.

Date and Home of the commentator— Some Remarks—

There is no certainty regarding the date and home of the commentator. On the basis of two statements found in the commentary itself, we can however make some general observation. While commenting upon the verse 53 of the first *adhyāya* of the *Devīmāhātmya*, the author has only once referred to a *Gauḍa* way of interpretation with the remarks "*Gauḍāstu*", thereby proclaiming his dissent about the interpretation. The commentator reads the phrase *Brahmovāca*, before the verse *Viśveśvarīm Jagaddhātrīm* etc. (I. 53), While the *Gauḍa*s read the phrase *Brahmovāca* after the said verse. This is the difference between the commentator's reading of the text and that of the *Gauḍa* way of reading it. This remark may, however, suggest that he himself may not be belonging to the *Gauḍa* i.e. Bengal region. He may be belonging to *Kāmarūpa* (Assam) or to some region in South India. One of the mss. of the commentary is found at Trivendrum. (Oriental Research Institute & mss. Library, Kariavattom Trivendrum No. 9790). Moreover, his interpretations are interspersed with the philosophical speculations. There is no reference to the Tāntric or Litergical standpoint in the commentary, which is the special feature of Bengal. The author seems to be a follower of Śāṅkara School of *Vedānta*. He has actually quoted with great reverence a statement from the *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtra*s with the phrase—*Tathā ca ācāryapāda-vacanam*—(*avidyāvadviṣayāṇyeva pratyakṣādīni pramāṇāni / Paśvādibhiscāviśeṣāt*). This statement also definitely suggests that the commentator Nīlāmbarācārya was posterior to Śaṅkarācārya.

He has nowhere referred to his near or remote predecessor-commentator by name. He simply alludes to their views by general terms like *kaścit*, *kecit*, *arvācīnas* etc. He has made very useful, witty and pithy remarks regarding the

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variants—like *ayam bahusaṁmataḥ Pāṭhaḥ, Ayam anūcānasaṁmataḥ Pāṭhaḥ, Prathamāntapakṣastu dūṣitaḥ, Bahupustakādarśanāt* at different places in the commentary. But his remarks on the word *vistarāt* of the verse—*Ityākarṇya* (6.1) are remarkable and useful for determining his date. He quotes "*guṇe hetāvastrīliṅge ceti pañcamī*" from the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, which clearly points out that the commentator Nīlāmbarācārya was posterior or at the most contemporary of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita as he quotes from his work, though he does not mention Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita by name. Thus, Nīlāmbarācārya, the commentator of the *Devīmāhātmya*, must have flourished in a period later than 17th century A.D. This may indicate that Nilāmbarācārya, the commentator of the *Devīmāhātmya* may not be identical with any of the Nīlāmbarācāryas, mentioned above.

(4) *The Present Edition of the Commentary*

During the search for the manuscripts of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and the *Devīmāhātmya*, the present researcher could notice only two rare mss. of the commentary of Nīlāmbarācārya on the *Devīmāhātmya*—one complete in the Oriental Institute of Baroda and other incomplete ms. in the Oriental Research Institute and Mss. Library, Kariavattom, Trivendrum.

(A) *Manuscript-material*—

The present edition of the commentary is based upon the above- mentioned two rare mss.

(I) *Manuscript A*—The manuscript A is a complete manuscript written in *Devanāgarī* script, containing twentyone folios, deposited in the Oriental Institute (bearing Accession no. 10826). The *granthasaṅkhyā* of this manuscript is about 550 It is copied on a paper of 25.5 cm × 12.5 cms size, written on both sides, with about 34 to 37 letters to a line and about 12 to 13 lines to a page or one side of the folio. The handwriting is quite clear and readable. No information of the scribe is available. Several marginal additions and corrections indicate the scribe's precision and faithfulness. All *marginalia* are by *propria manu*. The use of red pigment is made for *lemmata* and colophons etc., while yellow pigment is used for correction and deletion. The end of each line is marked with two *daṇḍas*. There is a margin of about 2.5 cms on all sides, the *recto* and *verso* margins are marked with two red lines on folios 12 to 18. Only *lemma* is found and nowhere does the commentator quote the entire verse or even the line of the work, commented.

(II) *Manuscript B*–The manuscript B is a xeroxcopy available in the Oriental Institute of the incomplete manuscript. The original paper manuscript is deposited in the Oriental Research Institute and manuscripts Library, Karia , vattom, Trivendrum (Acc. No. 9790). It has 28 folios in 56 (55 is duplicated.) .

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xeroxed pages, written in *Devanāgarī* script. The pages 1, 2, 3 and 55 (Duplicated) are blank on the back side. There is one additional blank folio at the end. The *granthasaṅkhyā* of the ms. is about 500. It is xeroxed on a paper of 13 cms × 29.5 cms. size, on both the sides of the folio, having about 36 to 38 letters to a line and about 9 lines to a page or one side of the folio. The handwriting is clear and readable. No information about the scribe is available. There are several marginal corrections, additions, repetitions etc. There are many corrupt readings. The ms. omits letters, lines at several places. One page 55b & one folio (31) are completely repeated. The text of the *Devīmāhātmya* is not written. Only the *lemmata* are found. There is a margin of about 3 to 3.5 cms. on all sides. The manuscript is incomplete and ends with *Anātma* in com. on 13.13.

Interrelation between the two mss.

None of the mss presents the text of the *Devīmāhātmya*, but, quotes only *lemma* or *pratīka* of the verse, commented upon. The commentary, found in both the mss. is mostly of uniform nature. Both mss. have common marginal glosses (e g. fn. 11, p. 2. fn. 8 p. 73 etc.). Both haves ometimes identical repetitions (fn. 45 p. 12, fn. 5 and 6 p. 71). They have lacunae in com. on 4.6 (see fn. 6 p. 30) and also in com. on 9.39 (fn. 10 p. 65). The variant readings and even corruptions are seen to be identical at several places. (For example. Both mss. read *samāmnātam* instead of *samādhmātam* which is more fitting the text, both read in com. on 3.27 *Balasāñchannaḥ* (unmetrical) for *Balasaṁvṛtaḥ* (com. on 6.8). Both have a reading—*Mahāsainyamambikām vavarṣeti saṁbandhaḥ* which is wrong from textual point of view. Both have corruptions like *nu* for *tu*, *akāra* for *ākara*, *vedantina* for *vedāntino* in com. on 11.1 and 11.4 (see fn. 2, 3, 4 on p. 70). Both mss. read *Kātyāyinīm* (com. 11.1) instead of *Kātyāyanīm*. Generally, both the mss. are very corrupt at several places and it becomes at times very difficult to edit the text, on the basis of them. But the variations, noted in the footnotes, will clearly point out that the ms. B is more corrupt and interspersed with scribal errors than the ms. A.

Though there is a general agreement between the two mss., one cannot be said to be a copy of the other, as there are certain differences between the two mss. The manuscript A is complete, while B incomplete. The scribe of ms. B has omitted several letters, words, lines etc. (see fn. 17 p. 41, fn. 7 p. 63, fn. 3 p. 69 etc.). The ms. B has several repetitions. The ms. B reseats consecutively one complete folio. The repetition is from *Dakṣiṇe* (com. on 4.24) upto *Nirṛti lokapālādhiṣṭhātyai* (com. 5.9). The manuscript B also reads for the first time after *Asicakra* (com. 8.17) the text of the commentary from *nuṣām muktai* etc. (com. 8.30) upto *saṁjñāpūrvakatvātsaṁ* (com. 8.45) repeating the same portion at its proper place. Such repetitions are found at several places in B. (See fn. 17 p. 3; fn. 20 p. 19, fn. 22, p. 21, fn. 12 p. 40, fn. 7 p. 55 etc.).

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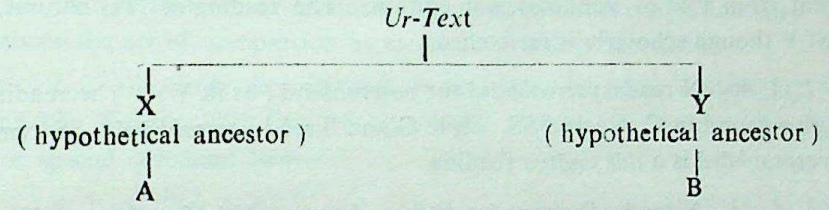
The ms. A reads *Bhakṣayantī vai,* while the ms. B has reading *Bhakṣayantī veti.* The reading of the ms. B here is properly fitting the context and hence taken up in the text. The ms. A has a corrupt reading *apalepo* (com. 10.2, fn. 1 p. 66) for *avalepo* found in B. Similarly, the ms. B has sometimes a very appropriate matter, which is omitted in the ms. A. (see fn. 23 p. 6, wherein a long passage is found only in B and is absent in A). On the contrary, B completely omits a line (fn. 13 p. 57), which is found in A. A alone reads a long passage in com. on 4.14 (fn. 14 p. 32) in margin. A concludes the commentary with words *Śrīparameśvarārpaṇamastu,* the ms. B does not possess it. From this disscussion, it would be clear that both the mss. must have different sources to draw upon and may not be a copy of each other. The manuscript tradition may therefore, be represented in the form of the *stemma codicum* in the following manner—



(C) *The Reconstruction of Commentator's text of the Devīmāhātmya—*

Several printed editions of the text of the *Devīmāhātmya* are available. The peculiarity of the present text is that we have tried to reconstruct and present the text-tradition as followed by the commentator Nīlāmbarācārya, on the basis of his commentatorial remarks on the words and phrases of the text of *Devīmāhātmya.* It is already noted that both the mss. do not contain the text of the *Devīmāhātmya.* Several peculiarities that are exhibited in the commentary of Nīlāmbarācārya will be dealt with in details later on.

(D) *The text of the commentary—*

The text of the commentary is based upon the above-mentioned two mss. We have already mentioned that both the mss. are very corrupt at several places, yet, we have tried to arrive at as pure a version as was possible from them. We are, therefore, required to present our own suggestions/emendations for the text of the commentary. These are, however, mostly given in the brackets. The suggestions for corrupt readings are given in round brackets, while emendations are noted in square brackets, (for example on p. 15, 28, 41, 52, 70 etc.). Some emendations were necessary for the proper understanding of the text of the commentary.

(5) *Distinctive and Remarkable features of the commentary—*

(i) *Nīlāmbara's Peculiar Readings—*

We have tried to present the text of the *Devīmāhātmya,* as accepted by the commentator Nīlāmbarācārya. This could be done by studying the commentary

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and finding out the readings of the commentator. During this study, we have tried to compare the readings of the commentary with those given by the Venkateshwar edition (with the six commentaries) and also with those presented by the commentary the *Saptaśatīsarvasva* of Śrī Sararūprasāda Dvivedī. From this study, we could noticen ot only the distinct and peculiar readings of the text of the commentator, but, also find his difference from other commentators. Some such pecular readings of the commentator Nīlāmbarācārya are enlisted below. Here N stands for = Nīlāmbarācārya, V = Venkateshwar, ed., G = *Guptavatī*, C = *Caturdharī*, S = *Śāntanavī*, Ng = *Nāgojī Bhaṭṭīya*, J = *Jagaccandracandrikā*, D = *Daṁśoddhāra*, SS = *Saptaśatīsarvasva* of Sarayūprasāda Dvivedī.

1 I. 44—N reads *paramā vidyā*, while V reads *aparamā vidyā*, which is found in S (also noted by SS) Thus our text has this reading, which is quite different from that of Venkateshwar edition. The reading of N is natural, but that of V though scholarly is farfetched.

2 I. 46—N reads *yatsvabhāvā* for *yatprabhāvā* (as in V). The reading of N is also found in C, Ng and SS, while G and S read *yatprabhāvā*. SS remarks that *yatprabhāvā* is a *dākṣiṇātya* reading.

3 I. 53—N reads *Brahmovāca* before the verse *Viśveśvarīm* etc. V reads it after that verse. C, S, D, SS read it before the verse, while Ng, J read it after the verse. The commentator N remarks with dissent that the *Gauḍa* (Bengali) commentators read *Brahmovāca* after the said verse. Here D has special comments—

अत्र विश्वेश्वरीमित्यारभ्यैव स्तुतिः । अत एव तदुत्तरं ब्रह्मोवाचेति न पठ्यते ।
किं तु पाठोऽयमसांप्रदायिकः । कात्यायनीतन्त्रोक्तध्यानमन्त्रविरोधात् ॥

4 I. 76—Before this line some commentators (S, D) read a line *prītau* etc., which seems to be omitted by N, while V reads it in brackets.

5 I. 78—N reads *prābhāvam* for *prabhāvam* read by V and others. The peculiar reading of N is noteworthy, as it is not found in any of the above seven commentaries.

6 II. 6—From the commentary of N, it is evident that the reading as presented by N is *yathā* as he interprets it as *iva*. V reads *tathā* for that. The reading *yathā* also seems to be taken by C, S, and SS. Thus these are similar to N in this respect. While these stand distinct from other commentators reading *tathā*.

7 II.14—N reads *ru* in *Jaṅghoru* as short (*hrasva*), taking it as a *samāhāra dvandva*, but, remarks that the long (*dīrgha*) reading is also acceptable, there being an option. V, G, S, Ng, D, SS read *ru* in *jaṅghorū* as long (*dīrgha*). Only C reads like N. All commentators however note and discuss both the readings.

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8 II. 54—N reads *ṛṣṭi* for *vṛṣṭi*, which is read by V, C, S, Ng. SS etc. S reads *śara* for *śakti* here. V reads in footnotes that *śaktiṛṣṭibhiḥ* is reading followed by Ng, which is doutful. SS remarks here—

शक्तीनां वृष्टिभिर्वैध इति दाक्षिणात्याः । शरवृष्टिभिरिति गौडाः ।

It is evident that N follows *dākṣiṇātya* tradition. His peculiar reading *ṛṣṭibhiḥ* is noteworthy.

9 IV. 18—N reads *teṣvapi te'tisādhvī*, while V reads *teṣvahiteṣu sādhvī*, which is also found in S; The commentators C, Ng and SS have a reading like that of N. which seems to be more popular.

10 IV. 20—N reads *prakaṭitā iva*, while V reads *prakaṭitā eva*, which is also met with in S, Ng and SS. But N does not seem to approve of that reading. He thinks that in that act of Goddess, her compassion is only apparent. The emphasis on the act of compassion by *eva* is more fitting the context.

11 V. 27—N reads *dhṛti* instead of *vṛtti*, which is found in V, G, C, Ng, J. D and SS. S reads *dhṛti* like N, but, notes *vṛtti* also. C also notes *dhṛti*. D has a special comment here—

एतदग्रे धृतिरूपेणेति क्वचित्पठ्यते ।.....किं तु वक्ष्यमाणकात्यायनीतन्त्रोक्तमन्त्रगणने[ऽ] पठितत्वादसांप्रदायिकः पाठः । एवमग्रे पुष्टिरूपेणेत्यपि ।

12 V. 31—N has additional verse with *puṣṭi* as a separate form of the Goddess. This is omitted by V. It is found in C and S. D notes it, but, does not approve of it (see his remarks on the previous point (No. 11)).

13 V. 36—N reads *abhīṣṭasaṁśrayāt*, while S and SS note a variant *abhīṣṭasaṁśrayā*. SS remarks it to be a *dākṣiṇātya* reading, but, most of the commentators, do not follow it.

14 V. 77—N seems to read *mayoktam te*, while V has a reading *mayaivoktam*. The reading of N is also found in SS. The reading of N is natural, while, in the other reading, emphasis with *eva* is unnecessary.

15 VIII. 27—N reads *dūtyena*, while V reads *dautyena*. C, S, Ng, D and SS read as *dautyena*. S noting both readings, remarks that the reading *dautyena* is rarely met with—

(क्वश्चिदाह दूत्यं दौत्यमुभयमपि भवति...दूत्येनेति क्वचित्पाठः ।).

SS also points out that both readings are possible.

(अत्र यद्यपि भावे दूतवणिग्भ्यां चेति यप्रत्यये दूत्यमिति प्रयोगो न्याय्यस्तथापि ब्राह्मणादिगणपाठात् ष्यञपि साधुः ।).

The reading followed by N seems to be *lectio diffilictor* and hence perferable.

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16 VIII. 52—N reads *prāhasatvarā* as a compound. Here *prāha* is interpreted as a battle. V, C, S, Ng. SS—all these read the two words separate. D reads and interprets like N. S, SS and D also note the other reading. SS remarks that *prāha satvarā* is a reading of *Gauḍas*, while the *Dākṣiṇātyas* read it as *prāha satvaram*. For interpreting the word *prāha* as a battle, the authority of a lexicon (*kośa*) and the verses from the *Skandapurāṇa* and the *Devipurāṇa* are cited. Some have very ingeniously suggested a different reading *prāhasat tvarā* or *tadā* to avoid all difficulties. In this verse, both the words *prāha* and *uvāca* are met with and hence the word *prāha* of the first line should not be interpreted as ' said '. The interpretation of N and D in understanding *prāha* as a battle seems to be more befitting the context. Here also N does not follow the *Gauḍa* way of interpretation.

17 VIII. 60—We have followed a reading *asibhi ṛṣṭibhiḥ*, as is found in V and G. G remarks that elision of *repha* in *asibhiḥ* is due to the necessity of metre. (*asibhirityatra rephalopaśchāndasaḥ*). SS reads the variant with *repha* i.e. *asibhir ṛṣṭbhiḥ*. N has no comment on this point. We, however, follow and retain the *ārṣa* form in preference to a grammatically correct, but a probably a later reading. There is in fact, a case of *metri causa*, as rightly remarked by G.

18 VIII. 62—N seems to read *teṣām mātṛgaṇo jāto* instead of *hate mātṛgaṇastasmin* found in V, C, S and SS also seem to read like N.

19 IX. 28-N seems to read *cakrāyudhena* instead of *cākrāyutena* read by V and S. SS reads like N and explains also like N. (*Cakrāyudhena cakreṇāyudhena / Jātāvekavacanam / Cakrairāyudhaiḥ caṇḍikām kauśikīm chādayāmāsa ..... Cakrāyuteneti dākṣiṇātyapāṭhaḥ* /) Here, it is noteworthy that as per SS, the reading *cakrāyuteṇa* is a *dākṣiṇātya* one. N has thus followed here that tradition. The word *ayutena* also occurs in the previous line. If the reading *cakrāyutena* is taken, there will be repetition of that word. The reading of N, being *lectio diffilicior*, seems to be more appropriate.

20 IX. 29—N has a reading *durgārtināśanī* as against the popular reading °*nāśinī* followed by V, C, Ng, D. The reading of N is found in S and SS, while SS has also noted the other reading and explains both to be grammatically correct. C also seems to note the other reading. (*naśinīti vā pāṭhaḥ*).

21 X. 2—N reads *balāvalepaduṣṭe* instead of *balāvalepād duṣṭe*, found in V and S. Ng, J and D seem to read like N. SS clearly reads like N. Thus, the reading found in N is more accepted by commentators. Ng notes the above reading and also points out a third one—*balāvalepāduṣṭe*. SS notes that *balāvalepād duṣṭe* is a *dākṣiṇātya* reading.

22 X. 4—N interprets the word *devyāstanau* as *devyāḥ śarīre* and not as *devyāḥ stanau*. G, C, S, Ng and SS all interpret in the same manner. G alone

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notes the other interpretation. There is a good article on this topic in the *Purāṇa* Journal (Vol. 25 part 2 July 1983 pp. 235-245) by J. N Tiwari.

The interpretation of N is quite proper.

23 X. 28 –N reads *śāntadigjanitasvanāḥ*, while V has a reading *śāntā digjanitasvanāḥ*. SS reads like N. While Ng and J read like V. C, S, D read like V but C and D also optionally note the other reading. S also optionally notes a compound phrase *śāntādigjanitasvanāḥ*.

24 XI. 26—N reads *pāpebhyo'naḥ*, wherein he interprets *anaḥ* as a father. V reads it as *pāpebhyo naḥ*. Most of the commentators (G, C, S, Ng, D, SS) read like N. Some of them (C, D) optionally read a compound word *anassutān* interpreting it as *duṣṭasutān* (wicked sons). The reading of V (without *avagraha* before *naḥ*) is not proper as there will be redundant repetition of *naḥ* in the same line (as we have '*no*' also in the same line).

25 XI. 27—N explains that the sword is a thing that exerts the hand (*karamudvālayatīti karodvālaḥ khaḍgaḥ*) which points out that he reads *karodvalaḥ* instead of *karojjvalaḥ* read by V, C, S, Ng, D and SS. N alone seems to have such a peculiar reading.

26 XII. 21—N reads *sakṛtsucarite*, while V reads *sakṛduccarite*, which is also found in S. C, Ng, D and SS read it like N. S notes also the other reading with comments that in that case, listening to her great deeds will be given more importance. Ng also notes the other reading as found in V. D notes the other reading as *sakṛcca carite*.

27 XIII. 5 –N reads *śaṁsitavratam* instead of *saṁśitavratam*, found in V, C, S, Ng and D. SS reads like N and also notes that *saṁśitam* is a reading followed by *dākṣiṇātyas*.

(II) Text-Critical Remarks by the Commentator :

In the previous section, we have considered the peculiar and distinct nature of some of the readings of the *Devīmāhātmya* in the light of the commentary of Nīlāmbara, by comparing it with those of other commentators in a general manner. In this section, we have taken note of those places, where the author himself has explained the interpretations of other commentators with some special remarks, which are important from the point of view of textual criticism, for determining the text-tradition and for reconstituting the original text. He has not only expressed his dissent or disagreement for the particular readings, but, also his liking or inclination for some other ones. Such remarks of the commentators can point out that even in those days, they had their own principles of textual criticism and considered the acceptability, competence and contextua significance of a particular reading.

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1 I. 12—N points out that some scholars read '*śapradhāno*' in the text as a compound word, explaining it as *saha pradhānena mahāmātreṇa vartate.* But, the commentator himself does not seem to approve of it. C, S, D and SS note both interpretations, but, Ng alone takes it as a compound word only. C quotes an authority of a line from the *Laṅkākāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa* for taking the word *pradhāna* in masculine gender. S opines that the compound word *sapradhāna* is proper, while separting *sa* from *pradhāna* is an *apapāṭha.* However, if we construe *sa* with *hastī*, he thinks in that case, it will be proper otherwise redudant.

D also opines that here the masculine gender is an *ārṣa* form. In short, N is quite proper in interpreting the word *pradhāna* as *mukhya* (main) and quotes authority of *Sarvānanda* for taking it in the masculine gender. Here *sa* is to be construed with the *hastī* only. N is quite clear in this respect.

2 I 40—N opines that the compound word *saṁsārasthitikāriṇaḥ* in this verse is to be construed with *Hareḥ* in the next verse and it should not be taken as genitive case. Those taking it in the sense of Nominative case are faulty. The *prathamāntapakṣa* is followed by C, Ng, D and SS. But C, D and SS also note optionally the other interpretation. C, Ng and SS construe it with *mānuṣāḥ* which is *adhyāhṛta* to be followed from the previous verse. While C, D and SS also optionally interpret and construe it with Viṣṇu or Īśvara, but none of them clearly states it like N that it is to be construed with *Hareḥ* in the next verse. S (noted also by SS as a *dākṣiṇātya* reading) takes a different reading i.e. *saṁsārasthitikāriṇā* as *tṛtīyā*—Instrumental, construing it with *mahāmāyāprabhāveṇa.* It is to be noted that N knows the interpretation of nominative case, but, he follows it in the genitive case and clearly opines that the other interpretation in the nominative case is quite faulty and he does not approve of it.

3 I. 54—N interprets *akṣare nitye* in the sense of *praṇava* or *oṁkāra* and alternatively notes that some take these words as applying to the Goddess by interpreting them in vocative case. It is remarkable that most of the commentators (G, C, S, Ng, D and SS) interpret it in the sense of vocative case, N alone has this peculiar interpretation of understanding it in locative case, thereby meaning—you are located in the permanent syllable i.e. *oṁkāra*, in the form of its three *mātrās* of *Akāra, Ukāra* and *Makāra.* This shows independent thinking of the commentator.

4 II.53—N reads *avādayanta* interpreting it in the past tense, meaning 'they beat drums', but, he also notes that some read and interpret it as *avādayantaḥ* as present participle, but, in that case suffix *a* is not possible, it being a *śatṛpratyaya.* C also seems to note this reading with remarks that it is rarely found. D remarks that somewhere reading *āvādayantaḥ* is found. Both S, Ng, and SS read and interpret like N.

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5 2.58—N reads *senānukāriṇaḥ*. He also notes the other reading *śyenānukāriṇaḥ*, but remarks that this reading is not found in many books. In other words, it is not a popular reading. G, Ng, J and S all read like N, but C, D and SS have the other reading. C and S also note other reading like *sedhānukāriṇaḥ*. S seems to be in favour of the reading *śalyānukāriṇaḥ*, which he remarks is a good reading (*sabhyaḥ pāṭhaḥ*). The remarks of N are quite appropriate, which are noteworthy even from the point of view of Modern Principles of Textual Criticism. According to N, the reading *śyenānukāriṇaḥ* is not followed by majority of mss. and hence is not acceptable.

6 3.7—N reads *śūlam sa*, but, also notes that the reading *tat śūlam* is also proper as *Amarakośa* has noted *śūlam* to be of both genders. This other reading is also noted similarly by S and SS.

7 3.8—N reads *bhi* in *tejobhī* as long (*dīrgha*) and explains it as per Pāṇini's rule '*Ro ri*' (Pā. 8. 3.14). But, he also optionally records the other reading *tejobhiḥ* and explains the other portion as *avibimbam*, instead of *ravibimbam*, taken in the previous case. In the second interpretation also *avi* means the sun. But N seems to be more inclined towards the former than the latter reading. The commentators C, S and D give both the interpretations like N and quote lexicons as authority for interpreting *avi* as the sun. SS has only one reading i.e. *tejobhī ravibimbam*.

8 3.36—N interprets the phrase *āśu devatāḥ* in two ways. He first takes both as separate words and later on also mentions another interpretation by taking it a compound word, with *dantya sa* in *āśu*, i.e. *asudevatāḥ*-meaning thereby as *prāṇadevatāḥ*-gods in the form of vital airs. The second interpretation is not found in any of the printed commentaries. Here we come across, the originality of the commentator N.

9 4.9—N reads *Udgītharamyapadapāṭhavatām*, which is a reading followed by Vedic scholars (*anūcānasaṁmataḥ pāṭhaḥ*). But also remarks that *Udgītam* is a reading followed by Modern scholars (*arvācīnāstu..*). The commentator has followed the Vedic tradition in preference to the Modern one. G, S and SS have a reading *Udgītha* etc., while C and D read *Udgīta* etc. but optionally note the other reading. The remarks of N are quite noteworthy from the point of view of textual criticism.

10 4.13–N reads *prasīda paramā*, but, also notes the other reading *prasāda praṇavā*. However, he remarks that it is a reading not followed by majority. (*Ayam tu pāṭho na bahusaṁmataḥ*). G understands *prasādaparamābhavatī* as one compound word and explains it. C and SS read *prasīda* but *paramābhavatī* as a compound. C also notes *prasādaparamā* as another reading. S reads like N and notes *prasāda paramā* as other reading. Ng and D also read like N, but

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do not note the other reading The remarks of N that *prasādapraṇavā* is a reading, not accepted by majority, is quite noteworthy from the point of view of textual criticism. The commentator thereby suggests that the reading, acceptable to many may generally be the genuine one.

11 4. 5—N reads *lokatraye'pi*, but remarks that some scholars read *lokadvaye'pi*, in which case the meaning is quite clear. C, SS and D read like N and note the other reading, while S reads *lokadvaye'pi* and Ng reads *lokatraye'pi* only and do not note the other reading. N seems to mean that when we take the reading *lokadvaye'pi*, the interpretation is easy. while when the reading *lokatraye'pi* is taken, it requires explanation. The reading followed by N is *lectio difficilior* and hence preferable.

12 6.18—N and most of the commentators (G, C, S, Ng, D, SS) read *gacchata*. Most of them (G, C, Ng,) believe that it is grammatically wrong, but, this fault is due to necessity of the metre (*sarvatra laghu pañcamam*). D and SS believe it to be an *ārṣa* form. It may be explained as a plural, used from the point of view of being beneficial to solders (G) or it may be taken as a *gauravokti* (C,D) (giving more honour to them). N interprets that the plural is from the point of both the solders, exerting simultaneously. He understands this reading *gacchata* to be better (*sadhīyān*). From the Modern point of view also the reading *gacchata* is preferable being fitting the metre, though grammatically wrong.

13 7.19—N separates the words *mahāsim* and *ham*. He, however, notes the other reading *mahāsiṁhaham*. He interprets that Kālī wielded (*Utthāya* taken in the sense of *Udyamya*) the great bow and making sound (*hamiti kṛtvā*) she rushed towards Caṇḍa. In this case only the word *tena* in the next line can be properly construed with *asinā*. N also points out further that in the reading *mahāsiṁham*, the word *mahāsiṁham* is to be construed with *Utthāya* i.e. ascending the great lion. Most of the commentators interpret like N only. But, there is in fact, some defect in the composition of the verse itself, due to which the commentators have to take recourse to somekind of farfetched interpretation. In both interpretations, there are some difficulties. In any case, the word *Utthāya* is required to be explained as *āruhya* or *Udyamya*. In the interpretation with *mahāsim* and *ham* as taken separately, the words *iti śabdam kṛtva* are required to be taken as understood (*addhyāhṛta*). While taking the word as one word *mahāsiṁham*, the interpretation of second line becomes difficult, because the second line contains the reference to ' *tena asinā* '. Moreover, the commentators remark that lion is not a vehicle of the Goddess. N also notes another variant as *mahāsiṁhāt*. But he is of the opinion that the Goddess is previously referred to as *asipaśinī* (7.5) and this

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verse paraphrases the previous context and hence the reading—*mahāsiṁ* and *haṁ* as separate is appropriate.

14 8.3–N explains the words *caturāśītir* as *caturā ca sā aśītiḥ* i.e. eighty of them that were clever. but he points out in case of *hrasva* reading, we should interpret it as *caturbhiradhikā aśītiḥ* i.e. eightyfour of them. G, C, Ng, D all read *caturāśītih* and interpret as eightyfour (only G explains it like N). S takes the reading *caturaśītiḥ* but optionally notes the other one. C and D explain that *āṅ* is in the sense of *adhiḳa* i.e. addition. SS has reading *Caturaśītiḥ* only. In fact, Here is a case of metrical lengthening. If we take it as *caturaśītiḥ* it would be metrically defective. The interpretation of N and G is scholarly, but, I think, noting it to be a case of metrical lengthening, we should interpret it as eighty-four only.

15 8.31—N seems to follow the reading *kurvatī* as it is quite proper, while the other reading *kurvantī* is to be explained as *ārṣa* or *chāndasa* form. S, Ng, D and SS read *kurvatī*. D notes *kurvantī* as an *ārṣa* form, while SS remarks regarding *kurvantī* that it is a wrong reading (*Numsahitaḥ pāṭhastvasādhuḥ*). C reads *kurvantī* interpreting it as an *ārṣa* form, and notes the reading *kurvatī* also.

16 10.9—N reads *ugra* in *ugrahuṁkāra* etc. and notes that if the reading *ugraṁ* is taken, it should be interpreted as a *kriyāviśeṣaṇa avyaya*. V, S, Ng and SS read only like N and do not note the other reading, while C and D read *ugram*, interpreting it as a *kriyāviśeṣaṇa* and note also the other compound reading i.e. *ugrahuṁkāra* etc.

17 11.1—N reads *vikāśivaktrāstu vikāśitāśāḥ* and remarks that it is an *ākara* reading, found in original treatises, while the Modern commentators read it as ' *vikāśivaktrāṁśuvikāśitāśāḥ* '. It should be noted here that C has this kind of reading, C also notes a reading like N with a difference in ' *vikāsitāśāḥ* '. V, Ng, SS read like N, but, V and Ng read *vikāsitāśāḥ*. S reads *vikāsivaktrāḥ suvikāsitāśāḥ* and notes also *vikāśi* (*also si*) *vaktrābjavikāśi* (*also si*) *tāśāḥ*. D reads *vikāsivaktrābjavikāsitāśāḥ* and notes a reading like N. The comments by N are noteworthy as he remarks that his reading is one that is traditionally followed by ancient commentators, while the other one is simply a Modern one and hence not acceptable.

18 11.8—N reads *sakte* and notes also the *tālavya* (palatal) reading *śakte*. C reads like N and notes the other reading V, S, Ng, D and SS read *śakte*. D alone notes the other reading i.e. *sakte*.

19 12.11—N interprets this verse as applying only to the *śāradīya navarātra* and understands *vārṣikī* as annual. C, S, D interpret the verse like N. G under-

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stands this line to be referring to two *navarātras* one in the *śarad* (autaumn) season and the other at the beginning the year i.e. *caitrī navarātra*. He further adds that on the basis of the word '*ca*' in this line, even *āṣāḍha* and *pauṣa navarātras* are also to be understood. Ng also interprets this line to be referring to two *navarātras*—one is *śāradīya* and the other is at the beginning of the year i.e. *caitrī navarātra*. SS first interprets like N, but also interprets like Ng, with remarks *kecittu*, but seems to accept this interpretation.

But, N has expressed his dissent for the above interpretations. In his opinion, *vārṣikī* means annual only and it refers to the *śāradīya navarātra* only. He quotes one passage in support of his interpretation. Secondly, he thinks that there would be the fault of *vākyabheda* in understanding two things in one sentence. *Vākyabheda* should not be resorted to, when one clear meaning of a sentence is possible. Moreover, in the next line, the previous matter is referred to with the word '*tasyām*'. This will be contradictory to the above two way interpretation. He further contends that *vārṣikī* (if taken in the sense of *varṣāsu bhavā*) will have to be construed with *mahāpūjā*, but this is not proper. Since the adjective *mahāpūjā* is current or prevalent only for the *mahāpūjā* done on *aṣṭamī* and *navamī* of *Śāradīya navarātra* and not in case of any other *navarātra*. He quotes authority of *Devīpurāṇa* for this interpretation. The word *ca* is to be construed with the matter in previous verses (12.9 and 10.). N has very nicely argued out his contention here. In this way, he seems to have even gone against the great commentators like G & Ng., which is quite noteworthy.

(iii) *Nīlāmbarācārya's Scholarship, Displayed in the Commentary.*

(A) *A Philosopher—Commentator—*

The *Devīmāhātmya* has been commented upon by several scholars. The book with seven commentaries on it is quite well-known. It can be observed that most of these commentators give grammatical, mysterious, esoteric and tāntric explanations of the text. But, Nīlāmbarācārya is perhaps such a distinctive type of a commentator, who gives mostly the purely philosophical (not mixing it with tāntric ideas) and grammatical explanations of the topics. He does not refer anywhere to liturgical or esotoric explanations. He seems to have philosophical background and hence begins his commentary with the Vedāntic bent of mind with obeisance to Māyā.

एका चितिर्जन्मविकारहीना
भूतेन्द्रियाख्याः सकलाः कलास्ताः ।
प्रगृह्य वेशं नटवद्विरेजे
मायेति तां प्राहुरमीं नमस्ते ॥ १ ॥

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He explains the term Māyā as a status that does not stand the reasoning. It is like *Indrajāla*—magician's sham-show. It is called *Mahāmāyā*, as in the case of Viṣṇu, it is very great comprising of so many objective realities. (I. 2). This *Mahāmāyā* is called the *yoganidrā* of Hari. It is a special power or glory of Viṣṇu and hence does not delude Him. The magic of the magician does not affect the magician himself (I.41). The Individual souls are overpowered by *Nidrā* or sleep, while the Lord himself assumes it through special power, hence this sleep is called *yoganidrā* (I. 49). At another place, he explains the term *mahāmāyā* as a power of Viṣṇu, producing the phenomenal world (I .58) He points out that in all *Vedāntas*, Viṣṇu is described as *apariṇāmī* (immutable) and hence the creation etc. is not possible from Him. The power of Viṣṇu is, therefore, considered as the cause of the creation of the world. The same is referred to as *Vaiṣṇavīśakti* in verse I1.4. It is the material cause-the seed of the world. In this case, there is no harm to *Advaita* doctrine, as It is *Paramā Māyā*. It has perplexed the entire world in the form of Māyā i.e. superimposition of *Ātman* upon *Anātman*. The objector contends that in such a case, there will be no chance for emancipation. The commentator explains that such is not a case, as when that Goddess called Durgā is propitiated with devotioal activities of speech, mind & body, she is pleased and destroys the bondage for the sake of emancipation.

The commentator has very lucidly explained the difference between the worldly and the spiritual knowledge in the first *adhyāya* (from the verse *Jñana-masti* etc. 1.34). He remarks that even an insect also has the knowledge of the object, which is substratum. If this knowledge which is there even in an insect were opposed to infatuation (*moha*), none would be infatuated. Then, it would be contrary to the worldly experience. The conclusion would have been that this worldly knowledge itself is opposed to infatuation (*moha*). Hence, how can there be a question of *moha*. But, this is not proper. The human beings do possess knowledge. Similarly, the animals, birds etc. also have knowledge of the objective world. He quotes the famous verse *āhāranidrā* etc. in which it is pointed out that *āhāra* (eating), *nidrā* (sleep), *bhaya* (fear) and *maithuna* (co-habitation)-these are common with the beasts, but knowledge alone is the distinctive feature of human beings. The knowledge here is nothing but the realization of the Objective Reality. He concludes that worldly knowledge is not the real knowledge but the realization of the Objective Reality only is the real knowledge. He then quotes with respect the statements of Śaṅkarācārya from his commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*. (1.1.1)—All the means of knowledge (*pramāṇas*) are having *avidyā* only at their substratum and the experience with the beasts etc. is also of similar nature. The tendency towards agreeable and turning away from the opposite is quite common between the beasts and the human beings. Ultimately, he concedes

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that though some kind of knowledge is common among them, it is due to the effect of *Mahāmāyā* of Viṣṇu that they are not having the discriminative knowledge of *Ātmā* and *Anātmā* and they experience *moha* (infatuation or delusion). Later on, the commentator also quotes the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* –*rūpaiḥ saptabhiḥ* etc. (63), while explaining the verses stating that She alone is the cause of bondage of *saṁsāra* and also the cause of the final release (1.43). He also explains the verse (4.6) from the point of view of *Sāṅkhya* philosophy. She is the *mūlaprakṛti*, the Primordial Cause, consisting of three qualities of *sattva*, *rajas*, & *tamas*—in the form of equilibrium, undissolved, beyond the ken of sense-organs, superior to all products like *mahat* etc. Though she is the cause of the entire objective world, she can be known by the *sāttvika-dharmas* (*sāttvika* qualities) like *Dharma*, *aiśvarya*, *Jñāna* etc. She is not known due to the *tāmasa doṣas* (faults) like *adharma*, *anaiśvarya*, *ajñāna* etc. Thus, he has expounded the *Sāṅkhya* tenets here, while explaining the verse.

While explaining the term *tāmasi*, occurring in the verse (1.68), he comments that it means sleep and quotes the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali (1.10) to elucidate how the sleep can be called *tāmasī*. He also quotes the same *Yogasūtra* (1.10) for explaining the word *nidrā*, occurring in the verse (5.34). He also explains the term ' *mahāvratā* (in 4.9) in accordance with the dictum of the *Yogasūtra* (2.30-31) only. He quotes from the *Bṛhadyogayājñavalkya smṛti* for explaining the term *ardhamātrā* in the verse (1.55). Among the three *mātrās*, *akāra*, *ukāra* and *makāra*, the last one is uttered with *pluta* & it is *turīyākhyā mātrā*.

The commentator has also explained the philosophical significance of the portion beginning from *yā devī* etc. (5.12). He points out that the twentyfive *tattvas* (i.e. elements) are saluted here in this portion starting from *yā devī* etc. (5.12) upto *indriyāṇām adhiṣṭhātrī* (5.33), while the *Ātman*, the twentyfifth element is bowed down in the verse *citirūpeṇa* etc. (5.34). Here some dispositions like *kānti*, *lajjā* etc. of *citta*, *manas* and *buddhi* are enumerated (not actually the twenty four *tattvas*) but, yet, on the Vedic dictum of similarity of number, the twentyfour elements only should be understood to have been enumerated here. Such cases are profusely found in the Vedic literature, where on the authority of similarity of number, something is emphasized in case of some other context or the author remarks that it should be understood to have some hidden, mystic significance. Thus, in the first Verse, the *mūlaprakṛti* (the primordial cause) has been saluted and its offshoots by other verses. The triple mention of salutation is due to its being of triple nature i.e. *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*. The Goddess is also of triple nature, when she is in the form of *citi* or *jīvātman*. Hence, there also salutation is made three times. But, in the salutation to the *adhibhūta* form of the *Paramātman*, the triple salutation is not done in the verse *Indriyāṇām* etc. (5.33) as this form is free from the contact with the three qualities.

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The commentator has also referred to the *Mīmāṁsā* dictum of *vākyabheda*, while explaining the verse *śaratkāle mahāpūjā*, (12.11), which point has been disscussed previously (P 32, No. 19).

Thus, the commentator has touched various philosophical systems like *Vedānta*, *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga*, *Mīmāṁsā* etc., while explaining the import of the verses of the *Devīmāhātmya*. Thus, the commentary is interspersed with the philosophical discussions.

(B) *Nīlāmbarācārya—As A Grammarian—*

Besides philosophy, Nīlāmbarācārya was also well-versed in the field of grammar. The commentary is also interspersed with several grammatical explanations of words and phrases, found in the text of the *Devīmāhātmya*. Generally, every commentator must be conversant with grammar, otherwise, the interpretation of the text becomes impossible. Our commentator is no exception to this generalization.

(I) The commentator's acquaintance with the rules of Pāṇini is quite evident from several *sūtras*, quoted by him, for explaining the text as mentioned below :

Sr.No.	*Pāṇinisūtra*	*Reference in Pāṇini*	*Reference in Nīlāmbarācārya com.*
1	तस्या अपत्यम्	4.1.92	सावर्णिः 1.1
2	बाह्वादित्वादिञ्	4.1.96	-००-
3	नपुंसकमनपुंसके च	1,2.69	कोशं बलं चापहृतम् 1.7
4	कालाध्वनोः	2.3.5	केचित् कालं 1.10
5	,,	,,	पूर्वं 1.11
6	क्तस्य च वर्तमाने	2.3.37	वृतं 1.74
7	यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम्	2.3.77	पुरन्दरे देवानामधिपे 2 1
8	समो गम्यृच्छि etc.	1 3.29	समगच्छत 2.10
9	छन्दसि पूर्वेपरे वा	1.4.81	विचिन्वति 2.67
10	रो रि	8.3.14	तेजोभी रविबिम्बम् 3.8
11	ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम्	1.1.11	युयुधातेऽतिसंरब्धौ 3.14
12	माङि लुङ्	3.3.175	मा ब्रूहि 5.72
13	वा दान्त	7.2.27	आज्ञिप्तः 6.5

He has also indirectly referred to the following *sūtras* of Pāṇini.

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	Commentary line	*Reference Pāṇini sūtra*	*Reference in the commentary*
१	उणादिकेन वरदा(टा) इश्वरीति निष्पद्यते	उणादि 4.86	वरटा I. 44
२	अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया	कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे	पञ्चमहस्राणि I .72
३	,,	द्वितीया 2.3.5	अब्दशतम् 2.1
४	रो रे(रि)(पा. 8 3.14) लोपमिति दीर्घः	ढ्लोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः 6.3.111	तेजोभी रविबिम्बम् 3.8

II The commentator has also alluded to Kātyāyana's *vārtika* on Pāṇini at the following place

पष्ठ्यर्थे चतुर्थ्यन्यतरस्याम् (cf. पा.सू.वा. 2.3.62.)—शुम्भाय चाख्याता 5.44

III Nīlāmbarācārya has quoted the *Dhātupāṭha* of Pāṇini at numerous places, while explaining some forms, in the text.

	Pāṇini Dhātupāṭha	*Reference*	*Textual context*
१	शमो लक्षालोचने	1696-97	निशामय 1.1
२	-Do-	-Do-	निशम्य 5.55
३	माङमाने	1142	अमायत 2.31
४	शसु हिंसायाम्	727	शस्त्रास्त्रैः 2.38
५	असु क्षेपणे	1210	-Do-
६	पृथि हिंसासंक्लेशनयोः	44	विपोथिता 2.56
७	स्फला विशरणे	516	पफाल 3.7
८	कुष निष्कर्षे	1519	कौशिकी 5.41

III The commentator is well-acquainted with the work namely the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita also, as he has quoted the line '*guṇe hetāvastriliṅge ceti pañcami*' (2.3.25) for explaining the ablative case in the word *vistarāt*, occurring in the text of the *Devīmāhātmya* (6.1). He has also drawn upon the *paribhāṣā* namely—*Sarve vidhayaḥ chandasi vikalpyante* (35), which is met with in the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*' of Nāgaoji Bhaṭṭa, while interpreting the verb *amāyata*, occurring in the verse (2.31). This shows that the commentator had not only acquaintance with the basic treatises of grammar like the Pāṇini's *sūtras*, the *Dhātupāṭha*, the *uṇādisūtras*, etc. but also had enough knowledge of other secondary works on grammar like the *Siddhāntakumudī*, some ancient work on *paribhāṣā* (may not especially be the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*, as the *paribhāṣā* quoted by Nīlāmbarācārya might be from some earlier work on grammar).

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V The commentator has tried to interpret as to how certain words or phrases in the text could be explained from the point of view of grammar. His explanations of the words *sāvarṇiḥ*, (1.1), *prābhāvaḥ* (1.78), *suratā* (4.7), *cāmuṇḍā, devāsuram* (2.1), *Brāhmī* (8.14), *sma* (4.2, 4.4), etc. are noteworthy from this point of view. He understands the word *mama* in *mamatva* (1.10) or *mamatā* (1.40) as similar to an indeclinable. He points out that the word *keyūra* (2.25) can be used in both masculine and neuter gender, on the authority of the *Amarakośa*.

VI Sometimes the text of the *Devīmāhātmya* is not in conformity with the rules of Pāṇini. Hence the commentator is required to explain as to how there is an *ārṣa* form or *chāndasa* usage in the text. Sometimes there is a wrong formation or use of a noun or even of a verb. At times, there is defect in using gender or numerals (*vacana*) or even a particular case. There is also problem in the formation of a compound or a *sandhi* or even the use of tenses. Hence the commentator has to take note of all such cases. Some such examples as found in the commentary are enlisted here.

(1) Nouns—*Jaganmaye* (I.57), *Āpomāyam* (I.75) *Uccaiḥśravasasaṁjñā* (5.62).

(2) Verbs—*Amāyata* (2.31).

(3) Cases—*Etā mayyeva viśyantyo paśya* (10.3), *Devyā Iti śaiṣikā ṣaṣṭhī* (5.55).

(4) Tenses—*Babhūva* (I. 2), *saṁsmaranti* (5.4).

(5) Sandhi— *Yuyudhāte' ti saṁrabdhau* (3.14).

VII At Some places, there being doubtful usage, he is required to present certain grammatical explanations. For example—(1) Plural in *kāritāḥ* (1.65) from the point of view all the three Gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu & Maheśa taken together. (2) The plural in *etadvaḥ* (2.7) is honorific. (3) Dual form in *bhṛkuṭīkuṭilānanau* (2.8) is from the stand-point of both Śaṁbhu and Madhusūdana. (4) Singular form in *tattejaḥ* (2.10) is from the point of view of the singular entity to which it belonged. (5) In *vavāha* (8.45), there is option for the *saṁprasāraṇa vidhi*. (6) For *pratīkṣiṣyāmi* (12.10) he points out it to be a noun-based root (*nāmadhāto rūpam*). (7) *yataḥ* (in 8.28) is to be understood in the sense of locative, (8) *netrāsya* (I. 69) etc. here though there is *dvandva* compound relating to limbs etc., we should not interpret it to be belonging to a single entity. (9) In the compound *Devāsuram* (2.1) there is elongation of one *pada* only (10) The repetition in *saṁsmṛtā saṁsmṛtā* is in the sense of *vīpsā*—repeated remembrance etc. etc.

From the above discussion, it is evident that the commentator Nīlāmbarācārya was a good grammarian. But the manuscripts of the commentary are very corrupt and the copyist may not be properly conversant with grammar,

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hence the commentator's grammatical explanations have remained unintelligible at some places.

(c) *Nīlāmbarācārya--A versatile scholar* –

Besides. the philosophical systems and grammar, the commentator also refers to or quotes from *Śruti* (1.75, 4.9, 4.9), *Upaniṣads* (1.75, 4.9, 5.34), *Mahābhārata* (1.1) the *Bhagavadgītā* (5.34, 5.35), the *Āścaryaparvan* i.e. the *Harivaṁśam* (8 17), the *Purāṇas* like the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (1.1), the *Devīpurāṇa* (12.11), the *Yogayātrā of Varāhamihira* (10.28), *Amarakośa* (very frequently 1.28, 2.43, 3.8, 4.14, 5.46, 8.14, 11.1, 11.22, etc.), *Sarvānanda* (1.12), the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (1.4), the *Bṛhadyogayājñavalkyasmṛti* (1.56, 1.56), etc. etc. A scholar, well-acquainted with such a mass of literature, alone can quote or refer to it in the particular textual context. Hence, it is evident that the commentator Nīlāmbarācārya was a versatile scholar, possessing adequate knowledge of the *Vedas*, the *Upaniṣads*, the *Māhābhārata*, the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Purāṇas*, Different systems of Philosophy especially *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga*, *Vedānta*, & *Mīmāṁsā*, Pāṇini's grammar (& other secondary works on it), *Smṛti* literature, *Jyotiṣaśāstra* (especially works of Varāhamihira) and several *kośagranthas* (especially the *Amarakośa*).

(D) *Evaluation*–

It would be clear from the discussion that Nīlāmbarācarya was a versatile scholar possessing independent thinking capacity. We have noticed several distinctive characteristic features from his commentary. He sometimes goes even against the generally accepted readings & interpretations. His explanations, though small in size and short are full of pithy & scholarly interpretations. He seems to be more inclined towards philosophical & grammatical elaborations. The peculiarity of the commentator is that at times he is too short in his exposition while he comments elaborately on some selected verses, elsewhere he is silent or skips over some verses.

The commentator is also silent about the distribution or division of verses of *Saptaśatī* into seven hundred numbers (*Saptaśatīmantravibhāga*) which is given more importance by other commentaries. He sometimes seems to be careless in writing the commentary. For instance—At the end of the first *adhyāya*, he writes the colophon as *prathamaḥ paricchedaḥ samāptaḥ*, in which the word *paricchedaḥ* used for *adhyāya* is faulty. He explains the words *aṣṭacandrakaṃ* as *aṣṭau candrākārā yasminniti* (9.10). Here it should have been *candrakā* instead of *candrākārā* which is wrongly used etc.

The commentary is afterall an important contribution to the commentatorial literature on the *Devīmāhātmya*, having philosophical attitute in exposition.

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As it has hitherto remained unnoticed & unknown, the present researcher has tried his best to throw some light upon this little-known commentary and the contribution of its forgotten author.

At the end, I thank Prof. R. I. Nanavati, Director, O.I. and my colleauges in the Oriental Institute, especially, Shri P. H. Joshi and Dr. S. Y. Wakankar for their guidance and co-operation. I also thank Prof. A. N. Jani for his useful suggestions. I am also thankful to Shri B. A. Nachane and Ku. Saswati Sen for their assistance in various ways. I am also grateful to the authorities of the M. S. University for sanctioning required grants for the publication of this book. I am equally thankful to Shri P. N. Shrivastav, the Manager, University Press and his colleagues for their co-operation in neat and quick publication of this book.

M. L. WADEKAR

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Picture from Devīmāhātmya

Printed by Shri P. N. Shrivastava, Manager, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press, (Sadhana Press), Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Vadodara, Edited and Published by Prof. Dr. Rajendra I. Nanavati, Director, Oriental Institute, on behalf of the M. S. University of Baroda, Vadodara-390 001, March, 1997.